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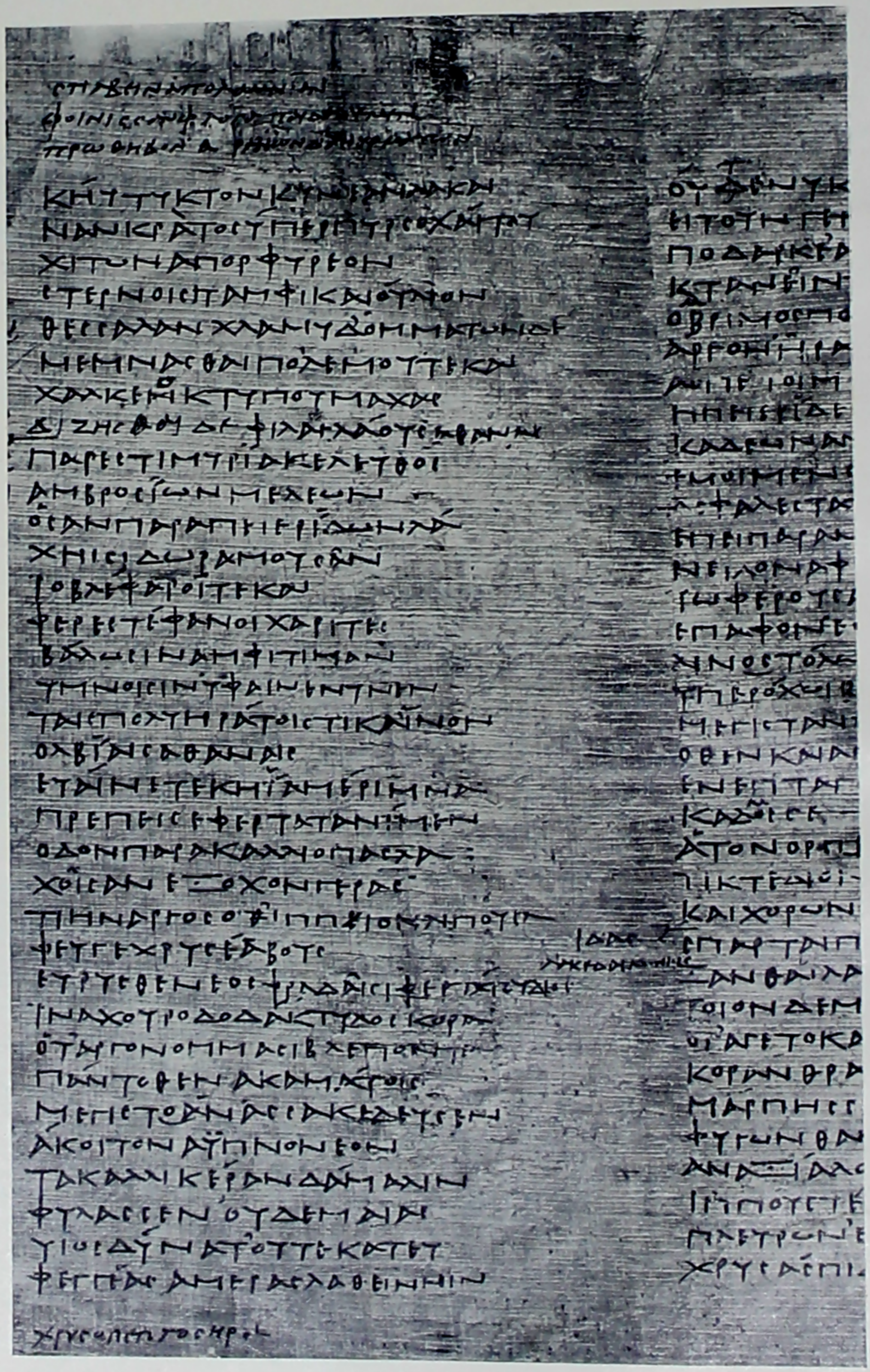
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Frontispiece, vol. ii.



Odes of Bacchylides

Brit. Mus., Pap. No. 733, cols. 38 and 39.

BY NILE AND TIGRIS

A NARRATIVE OF JOURNEYS IN EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM BETWEEN THE YEARS 1886 AND 1913.

By SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Kt.,

M.A. and Litt.D. Cambridge, M.A. and D.Litt. Oxford,

D.Lit. Durham, F.S.A.

SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND TYRWHITT HEBREW SCHOLAR.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

VOLUME II.

With numerous illustrations.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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THIRD MISSION.

(Continued from Vol. I.)

NINEVEH AND THE EXCAVATION OF ITS RUINS.

THE name "Nineveh" is a transcription of the Hebrew נִינְוֵה, which in turn is the transcription of "Ni-na-a," 𒉿𒀀 𒆳 𒀀, the old name of the city which in the seventh century B.C. developed into the great capital of Assyria. About the meaning of this old name "Ni-nâ,"[1] which is not necessarily Semitic, there is some doubt. The second part of it, "nâ," seems to mean something like "dwelling-place" or "resting-place,"[2] and if this be so we may assume that the city was regarded as the abode of some deity, and that "Ni" (or whatever may be the true reading of 𒉿 in this place) represents that deity's name. The ideogram for the city's name is 𒉿𒀭 𒌨, NINÂ *ki*,[3] which means "House [of the] Fish," and as this is also the name of a goddess[4] who was the daughter of Ea it has been thought that Nineveh was a centre, perhaps the chief centre, of her cult. At a comparatively early period Ishtar was the great goddess of Nineveh, and the city enjoyed her peculiar favour and protection, and was called "Narâm Ishtar," the "beloved of Ishtar." Her cult spread northwards into Mitani, and Tushratta, King of Mitani, and his father, prompted by the goddess, made vigorous attempts to induce the

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[1] The variants (*alu*) NI-NU-U 𒉿𒉣𒌑 𒉿𒀀 and (*alu*) NI-NU-A 𒉿𒉣𒀀 𒉿𒀀 also exist. (Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscrip.*, iii, pls. 48, 3, 8; i, pl. 19, ls. 93, 101.)

[2] Delitzsch, *Wo lag*, p. 260.

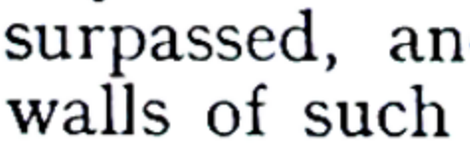
[3] Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, i, pl. 39, l. 39. See also Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, v, pl. 23, l. 6, where 𒉿𒀀 𒆳 𒀀 is equivalent to 𒉿𒀭 𒌨, and Brünnow, *Classified Lists*, Leyden, 1889, Nos. 4800–4805.

[4] Delitzsch, *Wo lag*, p. 260.

Egyptians to worship "Ishtar of Ni-i-na-a, the Lady of the World."[1]

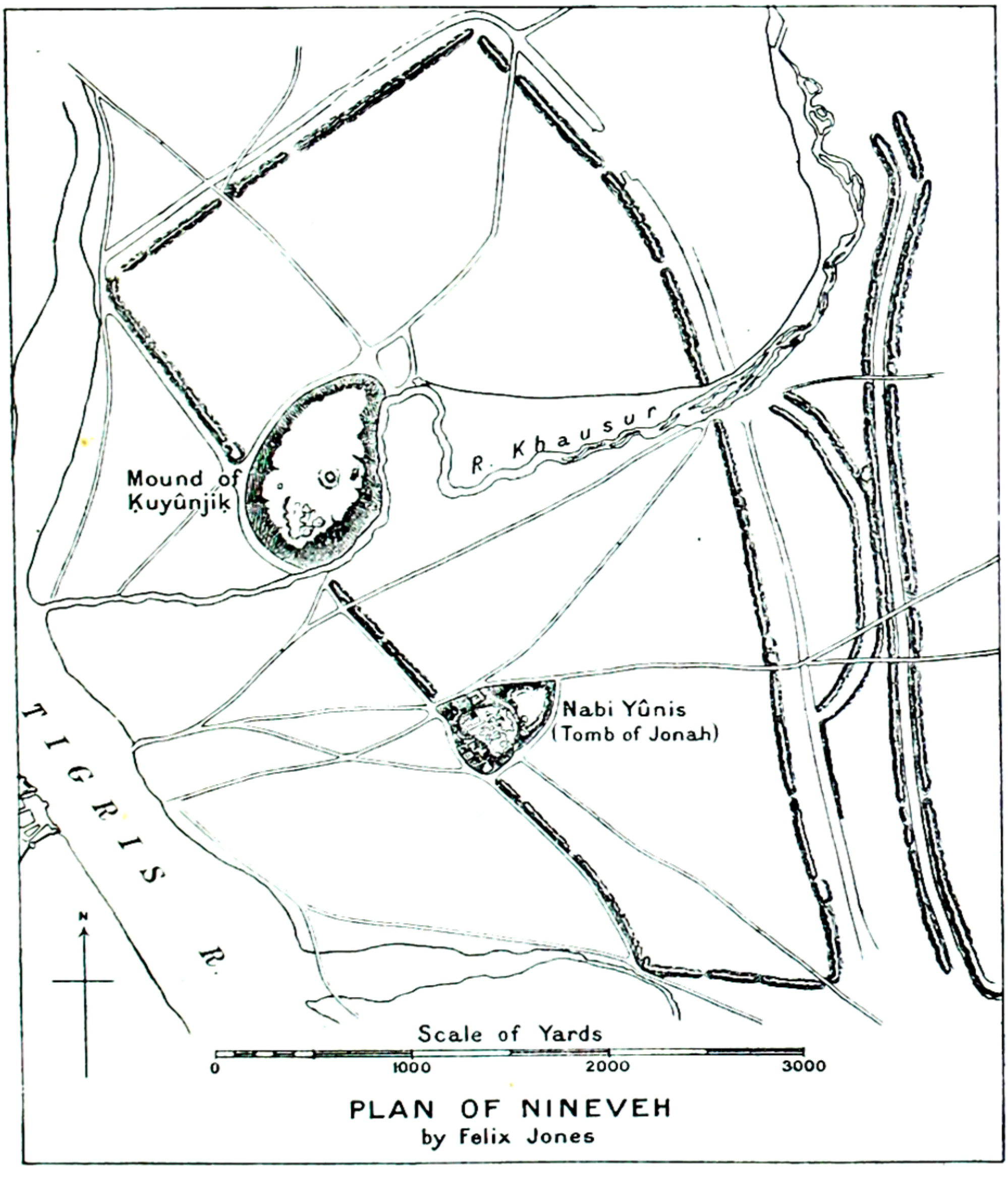
Thanks to writers who lacked exact information on the subject, the size and extent of Nineveh have been greatly exaggerated. Strabo says (xvi, 1, section 3) that the city of Nineveh was "much larger than Babylon (πολὺ μείζων τῆς Βαβυλῶνος), and was situated in the plain of Aturia,"[2] *i.e.*, Assyria. When Jonah spoke of "an exceeding great city of three days' journey" (iii, 3), he must have been speaking of Nineveh and its suburbs, in which he probably included Nimrûd (*i.e.*, Calah), about 20 miles south of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and Khorsabad, about 30 miles from Nimrûd, and 15 miles from Ḳuyûnjiḳ, besides Nineveh itself. According to Diodorus (ii, 3), the city of Nineveh had the form of an oblong rectangle, the longer sides being 150 stadia (about 16½ miles) in length, and the shorter sides 90 stadia (10 miles). The walls were 100 feet high, and were wide enough for three chariots to drive side by side on them; the towers which flanked the wall were 200 feet high, and were in number 1500. In size and magnificence no other city could compare with it. Ninus, its founder, determined to build a city which had never been equalled, and should never be surpassed, and according to Diodorus he did so. No walls of such height and length, and no towers of such height can ever have existed at Nineveh, and no city of the size described by Diodorus was ever built on the Tigris. It is likely enough that the land along the river bank for many miles to the north and south of Nineveh was regarded as a part of Nineveh by careless writers and thinkers, but about the size of the Nineveh of Sennacherib there can be no doubt whatever. The fact that Diodorus places Nineveh on the Euphrates should warn us not to put too much confidence in his figures. The

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[1]  . See Bezold and Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, No. 10, obv. l. 13 (p. 24).

[2] *I.e.*, ܐܬܘܪ, *Áthúr*, the name which Syrian writers give both to Assyria and to the town of Môṣul, which Bar Baḥlûl says was built by Sapor.

mistake itself is not surprising, for, as Felix Jones says, "at the present day the Tigris is confounded with the Euphrates by half the population of the district." And I



PLAN OF NINEVEH
by Felix Jones

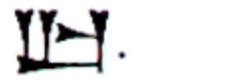
have met Turkish officials of high rank who thought that the "Baghdâd river" was the Euphrates, and that Baghdâd stood on one of its banks and Babylon on the other!

The ruins at Ḳuyûnjiḳ prove that Nineveh proper was

a comparatively small city. But outside the walls large vegetable gardens must have extended in all directions, and the whole region round about must have been filled with villages of various sizes, and if all these were regarded by ancient writers as parts of Nineveh, it is easy to understand their statements. In fact, Jonah, Strabo and others confused the suburbs of Nineveh with the city of Nineveh. The region on the east bank of the Tigris, which may properly be regarded as the greater Nineveh, was well defined by Felix Jones in 1852.[1] It is the plain, a somewhat irregular parallelogram in shape, 25 miles by 15 miles in extent, lying between the river Khusur, which falls into the Tigris just opposite Môṣul, and the Upper Zâb, which flows into the Tigris in latitude 35° 59′ N. On this "highly arable plain" are most of the Assyrian sites with which we are acquainted. It has a gradual inclination westward from Jabal Maḳlûb and the hill of 'Ain aṣ-Ṣafrâ, and is protected by these and the Gomel river on the north-east and east, and by the Zâb and the Tigris on the west, south, and south-east, and by the Khusur stream on the north and north-west. The whole of this plain is capable of tillage, and it has always afforded abundant pasture for flocks and herds at most seasons of the year. It is crossed by many watercourses, the dews which fall upon it are frequent and heavy, and in the winter it receives heavy rain and snow.

One of the most fertile parts of this plain lies near the junction of the Khusur stream[2] (which flowed through the city of Nineveh) with the Tigris. Here the primitive inhabitants or conquerors of Assyria, who do not seem to have been Semites, established on the east bank of the Tigris, close to the river, a frontier market and trade centre. Exactly why they settled there cannot be said, but whatever was their reason for doing so, it was sufficiently important and permanent to make their descendants build city after city on the same site for three thousand years at least. Both Arab and Persian

[1] *Notes on the Topography of Nineveh* (*Records of Bombay Government*, No. XLIII), p. 404 ff.

[2] In Assyrian (*nāru*) Khu-zu-ur  .

merchants have told me that, provided the Tigris flowed close by it as in ancient times, and not a mile and a half from it as at present, Nineveh would be a far more convenient place for a frontier market than Môṣul. Indeed, it is probable that the development of Western Nineveh into the large town which Sapor I called "Mawṣil," was due to the fact that the Tigris removed itself from the west wall of the city further to the west, or that one of the arms of the river flowing parallel with it became the main stream.

The date of the founding of Nineveh is unknown, but it is probable that a town or city always occupied both banks of the Khusur river near its junction with the Tigris. At a very early period some ruler of Babylonia took possession of the primitive town and enlarged it, and arrogated to himself the title of "founder of Nineveh." There is little doubt that the city of Nineveh is older than the city of Ashur. As more than one great Babylonian ruler (*e.g.*, Gudea and Dungi) restored temples at Nineveh between 3000 and 2500 B.C., the city must have possessed considerable importance at that early period. A little before or after 2000 B.C. the great Babylonian lawgiver, King Khammurabi, carried out works of restoration in "Ni-nu-a *ki*," as he calls the city in the introduction to his Code of Laws,[1] and brought the country of Assyria under his domination. In the fifteenth century before Christ the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh declared her intention of going to Egypt, the land that she loved, and Tushratta, King of Mitani, sent a statue of her to Amenḥetep III, and entreated the goddess to protect himself and the King of Egypt for a hundred thousand years.[2] Shalmaneser I, about B.C. 1300, rebuilt Ishtar's temple at Nineveh, and we may assume that during the next six centuries the kings of Assyria maintained it. The shrine of the goddess seems to have been the one important thing in the city. About 1080 B.C. Ashur-bêl-kala, a son of

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[1]  , col. iv, line 60 (ed. de Morgan, Paris, 1902, pls. 4, 5; ed. Harper, pl. 6).

[2] See *Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. xlii.

Tiglath Pileser I, made Nineveh his capital, and built a temple to Ishtar, and dedicated to the goddess an alabaster statue of a naked woman.[1]

At the beginning of the seventh century before Christ the great King Sennacherib (B.C. 705–681) carried out vast building operations in the city, and fortified it with mighty walls. The circuit of the city which he found there was 9,300 cubits, and he added to it 12,515 cubits, making its total 21,815 cubits. He built an inner and an outer wall about the city, the former being 40 cubits thick and 180 *tipki* in height; the outer wall was immensely strong, and built upon a stone foundation, and faced with slabs of stone up to the coping. Sennacherib's walls had fifteen gates, seven in the south and east walls, three in the north wall, and five in the west wall. Sennacherib greatly improved the water-supply of the town, building a reservoir near some springs to the north-east of Nineveh, and bringing water from it, by means of an aqueduct, into the city. He also dug a canal, and made a system of channels, whereby his gardens and orchards were watered. In one section of the city he laid out a park with ornamental waters, and he planted it with trees of all kinds, which were brought there from various parts of the country, and from foreign lands. Among these were the "trees that produced wool (*i.e.*, cotton), which men picked and made into apparel." Into this park the king turned wild boars and other animals. The trees afforded a home for various kinds of rare birds, which nested in their branches, and the reeds of the lake sheltered various kinds of water-fowl.[2] Under the strong hand of Sennacherib Nineveh became the true capital of Assyria, and it was greatly enriched by the vast amount of spoil which the king brought back from his successful expeditions. The works which he carried out in connection with his alteration of the course of the river Tebiltu were a marvellous feat of hydraulic engineering.[3] His

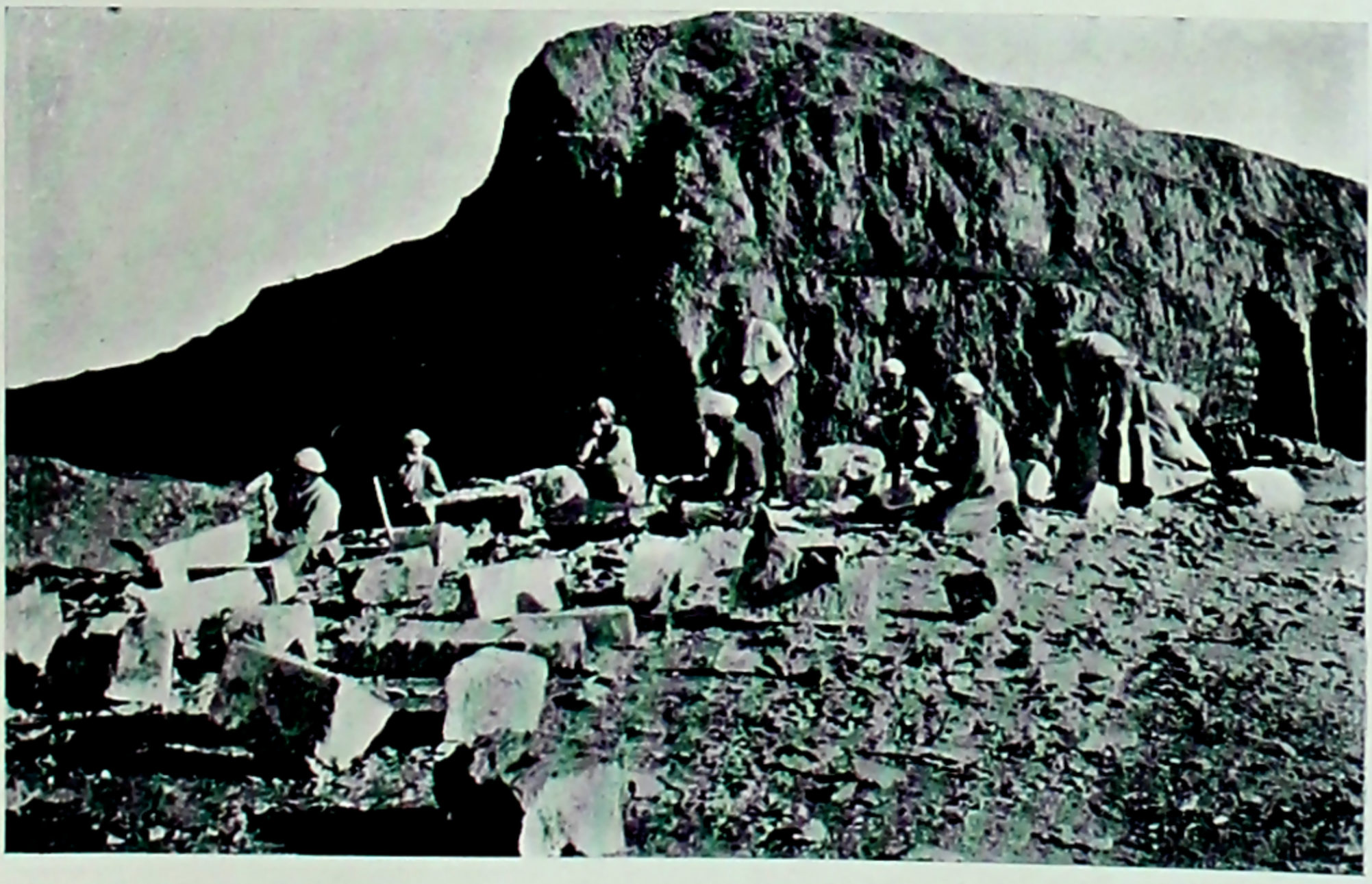
[1] This statue is in the British Museum (No. 849).

[2] See *Cuneiform Texts*, part xxv (ed. L. W. King), London, 1909.

[3] In the great cylinder inscription of Sennacherib, B.M. No. 103,000, the king states (col. v, l. 79 ff.) that the river Tebiltu, which



British Cavalry (13th Hussars) passing the mounds of Ḳuyûnjiḳ.



Excavation of stones from the foundations of Sennacherib's wall between Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nabi Yûnis.

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son, Esarhaddon, and his grandson, Ashur-bâni-pal, maintained its fame and splendour, and added to its wealth. Very little is known about events in Assyria after the reign of Ashur-bâni-pal, but it seems that his sons, Ashur-etil-ilani and Sin-shar-ishkun,[1] were unable to protect themselves and their country against the enemies who banded themselves together against them, and little by little the great kingdom of Assyria began to break up.

The most bitter enemy of the overlordship of Assyria at this time was Nabopolassar, the Assyrian Governor of Babylon. After Ashur-bâni-pal's death in 625 he was, to all intents and purposes, king of all Babylonia. He came to an understanding with the Medes, and it is tolerably certain that their chiefs, or kings, knew that in the event of their making an attack upon Nineveh, Nabopolassar would send no help to the Assyrians. Some think that the Babylonians actually took part with the Medes in their assault on the city, but whether this be so or not is of little importance, for Nineveh fell either in 608–7 or 607–6, and the Medes took all the northern part of the Assyrian kingdom, and the King of Babylon all the southern. No details of the capture of Nineveh are extant, but it is quite probable that the palaces and other important buildings were destroyed by fire, and the state of the remains of many of the chambers at Ḳuyûnjiḳ proves that parts of Ashur-bâni-pal's palace, at least, were burnt with fire. It is possible that Sin-shar-ishkun, the last King of Assyria, did, as Abydenus[2] says, set fire to his palace, and then cast himself with his wives and family into the flames, but of this tragedy the cuneiform inscriptions make no mention. The flooding of the Tigris appears to have played a prominent part in the downfall of the city.

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flowed through Nineveh, was a strong, swift stream, that its waters reached the palace, and that its heavy floods had destroyed the foundations of the building to such an extent that he pulled down the little palace completely. He then changed the course of the Tebiltu and made it discharge its waters outside the city into an artificial lake or swamp.

[1] The Sarakos of the Greeks.

[2] Quoted by Eusebius, i, 9, p. 25; and the Syncellus, p. 210.

In those days the Tigris flowed close to the west wall of the city, and the river Khusur flowed into it through an opening specially formed for that. Rain, coupled with a very sudden thaw, would create a flood in both rivers, which would rise to an abnormal height, and their waters would cover a very large portion of the area of the city.[1] Moreover, the enemy would be able to float their battering rams close up to the walls of the city, and to sail their boats into the heart of Nineveh. It is possible that allusions to such a flood are contained in the Book of Nahum (ii, 8), when the prophet says, "Nineveh of old [is] like a pool of water," and "the gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved" (ii, 6).

But though the destruction wrought in the city of Nineveh by the Medes and their allies must have been very great, the huge walls with their massive stone foundations, and the palaces and other great buildings which were lined with slabs of alabaster, prevented it from being utterly wiped out. Its enemies, having looted the temples and palaces and houses of the nobles, no doubt smashed and burnt everything that could be smashed and burnt, but they found it beyond their power to raze the walls to the ground, as the ruins of them testify even after the lapse of twenty-five centuries. It is quite clear that Nineveh lost all its importance after its fall, but it is incorrect to say that its site was unknown. Though the city was destroyed, nothing could affect the value of its site as a market and trading centre, and nothing could kill the trade which had made Nineveh's merchants rich. This being so it was impossible for its site to be forgotten, and there is abundant proof that it was not. Ammianus, who died shortly before 400, calls Nineveh "an important city of the province of Adiabene" (xviii, 7), and though the city to which he referred was probably Môṣul, his words show that he connected both cities in his mind. The works of Arab writers all agree in identifying the mounds on the east bank of the Tigris opposite Môṣul

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[1] See page 7.

with the ruins of Nineveh. Mas'ûdî says (ii, 92) that Nînawî (Nineveh) was opposite Môṣul, and that in his time (A.H. 332 = A.D. 943) it consisted of heaps of ruins, among which were villages and cultivated lands. Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the Rustâḥ of Nînawî (ed. de Goeje, p. 145), where of old stood the city on the east of the Tigris facing Môṣul, to which Jonah was sent, and says the ruins of its walls are still visible.[1] Muḳaddasî (ed. de Goeje, p. 146) says that the ruins of the ancient city of Nineveh are close by the Mosque of Jonah. Abu'l-Fidâ (p. 285) says that the ruined Nînawî to which Jonah was sent is opposite Môṣul. Yâḳût (iv, 870) identifies Nînawî with the village of Yûnis bin Mattai, and says (iv, 682) that Môṣul, "the Gate of 'Irâḳ," and the "Key of Khurâsân," is a very old city on the banks of the Tigris, and that opposite to it, on the east bank, is Nînawî. Ibn Baṭûṭah (ii, 137) says that the ruins near Nabi Yûnis are those of the famous city of Nînawî. In the seventh century there must have been some strong fort on or close to the site of Nineveh, for Bilâdhurî, in his Fatuḥ al-Buldân (ed. de Goeje, p. 331), says that when 'Amr ibn al-Khattâb 'Utba had taken Môṣul (A.H. 20 = A.D. 640), he attacked the people of Nînawî, and captured its fortress on the east bank. Ibn al-Athîr (ed. Tornberg, ii, p. 418) also mentions this fortress, for in speaking of the Fortresses of Nînawî and Môṣul, he says that the former was the Eastern Fortress and the latter the Western. Among the Syrian Christians there has never been any doubt about the site of Nineveh, and some of their greatest writers speak of Môṣul and Athûr and Nineveh as if they were one and the same place. From the days of Benjamin of Tudela (1173) downwards, all the great European travellers who visited Môṣul never doubted that the miles of long low mounds which they saw on the eastern bank of the Tigris represented the

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[1] Ibn Jubayr describes the "great ruin" of Nînawî, the city of Yûnis, which he himself saw, and mentions the line of its walls, and the places of its gates, and the mounds of earth of its lofty towers. *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. Wright, p. 238.

walls of the "Potent Town of Nineveh."[1] The only exception was Niebuhr, who actually rode over Nineveh, and did not know it until the natives told him where he was! The mounds containing the ruins of the walls he regarded as a row of hills, and did not find out his mistake until it was pointed out to him.[2] The Ḳala'at Nûnyâ, or "Castle of Nineveh," which he mentions, was probably the mass of ruins about one of the gateways in the north wall. It is interesting to note that the village of "Koindsjug," *i.e.*, Ḳuyûnjiḳ, was in existence in his time.

The first systematic examination of the ruins of Nineveh was made by C. J. Rich, British Consul at Baghdâd, during the four visits which he paid to Môṣul between 1808 and 1820.[3] According to him the area of Nineveh is from 1½ to 2 miles broad, and 4 miles long. On the north, south, and west sides are the remains of only one wall, but on the east side are the remains of three. The greatest height of the mound of Nabi Yûnis is about 50 feet, and in front of this mound the west wall ran. The mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ is of irregular form, its sides are very steep, and its top is nearly flat. Its perpendicular height is 43 feet, and its total circumference 7,691 feet. The ruins at Nineveh all belong to the same period, and the area enclosed within walls only represented a very small portion of Nineveh. Whether Rich actually made excavations at Nineveh is doubtful, but it is quite clear that he deduced sufficient evidence from the diggings of the natives, who were searching for stones and bricks and alabaster slabs to burn, to convince him that the remains of great buildings lay buried in the mounds of Ḳuyûnjiḳ

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[1] Rauwolf, *Travels*, i, p. 204.

[2] "Ich erfuhr es nicht eher dass ich an einem so merkwürdigen Orte war, als nahe am Flusse . . . zeigte man nur auch noch die Wälle von Ninive die ich auf meiner Durchreise nicht bemerkt, sondern für eine Reihe Hügel gehalten hatte." *Reisebeschreibung*, tome ii, p. 353.

[3] See *Residence in Koordistan*, vol. ii, p. 34 ff. Kinneir examined the mounds opposite Môṣul in November, 1810, and he describes the area of Nineveh as an oblong square not four miles in compass. See his *Geographical Memoir*, London, 1813, p. 258, and his *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Koordistan in the years* 1813 *and* 1814, London, 1818, pp. 461, 462.

and Nabi Yûnis; and it is equally clear from the antiquities which he collected, and his remarks about them, that he realized their general importance. At Nabi Yûnis he saw men digging up hewn stones which had been laid in bitumen, and recognized that they formed part of the substructure of a building, and he was present when Ḥusên Âga found a square stone slab with a cuneiform inscription in the wall of a house there; he secured it for his collection. The natives of Nabi Yûnis showed him underground chambers and corridors near the so-called Tomb of Jonah, and through his "curiosity hunter," Delli Samaan, he acquired many objects from the mound close to it, including whole bricks and fragments of slabs covered with cuneiform inscriptions. The greatest treasure which he obtained from Nabi Yûnis was a baked clay hollow cylinder, fourteen inches long, inscribed with a cuneiform text describing the building operations which Sennacherib (B.C. 705–681) carried out on that site during the first two years of his reign.[1] At Ḳuyûnjiḳ he obtained several fragments of inscribed tablets, and these must have been dug up by the natives

[1] This is presumably the famous "Bellino Cylinder" now in the British Museum (No. 22502). A very accurate copy of the text, made by Mr. Bellino, was sent by Rich to Grotefend, who published it in the "Abhandlungen" of the Academy of Sciences at Göttingen. Another copy of it was published by Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, London, 1851, plates 63 and 64, but according to Fox Talbot, Bellino's copy is the more accurate, and is the "most wonderful instance of patient accuracy which is to be found in the whole range of archæological science." See the prefatory remarks of Fox Talbot to his translation of the cylinder in *Jnl. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xviii, 1861, p. 76 ff. Bellino was a friend and companion of several of the English travellers in Mesopotamia, and he possessed naturally the faculty for copying cuneiform inscriptions accurately. Ker Porter says that he is indebted to his learned and persevering friend, Mr. Bellino, for the scrupulous accuracy of copies of texts which he publishes (vol. ii, p. 394). Bellino is mentioned several times by Buckingham (*e.g.*, vol. ii, pp. 233, 251), and in Rich's *Residence*, vol. ii, p. 126, he is described as a "young man of a singularly affectionate disposition, whom no one could know and not love," and as Mr. Rich's "amiable and accomplished young friend." He was attacked by fever during a journey to Hamadân, and he died at Môṣul in November, 1820.

from the floor of one of the buildings there in their search for stones and alabaster slabs. Besides the nine fragments which are mentioned in the manuscript copy of the Catalogue of the Rich Collection of Antiquities acquired by the British Museum, four others are known, viz., a fragment of a duplicate text of Eponym Canon I, referring to the years 794–768 B.C., a fragment of an omen tablet, a fragment of a tablet of forecasts, and a fragment of a private contract tablet.[1]

We owe to Rich the first detailed notices of Nineveh and Babylon ever published, and it was the publication of his "Residence in Ḳoordistan" by his widow, in 1836, which drew the attention of the learned world to the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, and caused the French Government to employ Botta (Consul at Môṣul) in making excavations at Ḳuyûnjik, and Stratford Canning to employ Layard at Nimrûd; and, as Felix Jones rightly remarks, "Rich was the first real labourer in Assyrian fields."[2] The researches which Rich made at Nineveh were also of great importance from the collector's point of view. By buying fragments of inscribed tablets, "barrel-cylinders," seal-cylinders, bricks bearing inscriptions, etc., he taught the natives of Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nabi Yûnis that such things had pecuniary value, and that they were objects for which travellers were ready to pay money. As soon as the natives found this out they began to take care of everything that had an inscription upon it, and to search through the earth which they threw up whilst digging for stones for building purposes, with

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[1] These were given by Mrs. Rich after her husband's death to Miss Hay Erskine, who in turn gave them to Miss A. Holmes, who presented them to the British Museum in 1895.

[2] *Jnl. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xv, p. 330: "Nothing, indeed, is wanting in his descriptions, though he was but a passer-by; and for labour in detail, where he had opportunities of survey, he cannot be surpassed. . . . Rich thirty years ago presaged the existence of Assyrian monuments in the mines from whence they have been exhumed. . . . At that time all that we knew of either Nimrûd or Nineveh was from the pen and pencil of Rich, whose survey, engraved in the volumes edited by his widow, will be found as correct as the most diligent enthusiast can desire."

the hope of finding a gem, or a fragment of a tablet to sell. In fact, Rich did for the tablets at Nineveh what the Abbé Beauchamp did for the cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar II from Babylon, *i.e.*, he made it worth the while of the native to preserve "anticas."

The next important survey of the ruins of Nineveh was made by Commander Felix Jones, I.N.,[1] in 1852. He showed that the principal wall was on the east side of the city, and that it was 16,000 feet long, and that the north wall was 7,000 feet long. The west wall, close to which the Tigris flowed, was 13,600 feet long, and the south wall 3,000 feet long. He described the area of Nineveh as an irregular triangle, or trapezium, having its apex abruptly cut off to the south. Its total circuit was 13,200 yards, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, which is not greatly in excess of the dimensions assigned to the city in Sennacherib's inscription, though Felix Jones was not aware of that. The area of Nineveh from the above measurements is 8,712,000 square yards, or 1,800 English acres of land. These facts disposed once and for all of the theories, both ancient and modern, which had been current about the size of the city of Nineveh.

The principal mounds within the area of the city of Nineveh are Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nabi Yûnis, which are situated in the north-west and south-west angles of the city respectively, and are close to its western wall. Ḳuyûnjiḳ is the larger mound, and is about one hundred acres in extent; the buildings on it were protected on the north-east and south sides by the river Khusur, and on the west side by the Tigris, which in ancient times flowed close to the great city wall. Felix Jones regarded the mound as the Acropolis of Nineveh. During the Middle Ages it was commonly called "Ḳal'at Nînawî," or the "Castle of Nineveh," and a fortress or stronghold of some kind stood on it for many centuries. The shape of Ḳuyûnjiḳ is that of an irregular oval, somewhat elongated at its north-eastern extremity, which rises ninety-six feet above the Khusur near its junction with the Tigris.[2]

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[1] *Topography of Nineveh*, p. 404, and *Jnl. R. A. S.*, vol. xv, p. 297.
[2] *Topography of Nineveh*, p. 436.

The credit of beginning archæological research at Ḳuyûnjiḳ belongs to Botta, whom the French Government appointed Consul at Môṣul in 1841–2. Before he left Paris to take up his duties he had several interviews with Mohl, the eminent Orientalist, who pointed out to him that Môṣul was the centre of a district of great historical and archæological importance, and urged him to make good use of the splendid opportunity which he would enjoy for collecting antiquities, and even for making excavations on his own account. Mohl had read Rich's works, and realized clearly that the author had found the exact site of the ruins of Nineveh, and he felt that priceless archæological treasures lay buried there[1]; and it was said that Botta's appointment as Consul at Môṣul was due entirely to the influence and activity of Mohl, who persuaded the Government and the learned Societies of Paris that a French Consul at Môṣul could do what a British Consul at Baghdâd had done, *i.e.*, make large collections ot Oriental manuscripts, cuneiform tablets, etc. Be this as it may, Botta arrived in Môṣul early in 1842, and tried to collect antiquities, but there was very little to be had, and Botta himself laments that Rich had swept up and carried off everything. He then turned his attention to excavating, and was anxious to make his first attempt at Nabi Yûnus, where Rich had seen so much ancient building and sculpture, and acquired so many antiquities. But the Pâshâ of Môṣul and the authorities of the Mosque of Jonah would not allow any part of that mound to be disturbed, and Botta decided to begin work at Ḳuyûnjiḳ. He started digging in December, 1842, and worked steadily for six weeks, but the results he obtained were few, and besides inscribed

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[1] Victor Place says: "Les récits de Rich avaient donné une sorte d'intuition de la vérité à M. Mohl, qui engagea M. Botta a pratiquer des fouilles dans l'un des monticules épars sur la rive gauche du Tigre, et d'où les habitants du pays avaient, disait on, extrait de grandes pierres sculptées pour les réduire en chaux. Le conseil fut suivi, et la découverte eut lieu." *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, tome i, Preface, Paris, 1867 (3 vols.).

bricks and some small and unimportant objects, he found nothing. He carried on his excavations at his own expense, and as his means were small he began to wonder if it were worth while continuing the work. Whilst his men were digging they were watched by many people from the town and country round about, and they all wondered at the care with which every brick and fragment of alabaster were set aside to be kept. One day, when Botta was examining a number of such fragments, a Christian from the village of Khorsabad, by trade a dyer, asked him why he preserved such things. When the dyer heard that he was digging for alabaster slabs with figures sculptured upon them, he told Botta that he ought to come to his village, where they frequently dug up such things. In no very hopeful spirit Botta sent two or three men to dig at Khorsabad on March 20th, 1843, and three days later they came upon the top of a wall, one side of which was covered with sculptured alabaster bas-reliefs. A week's work showed Botta that he had discovered the remains of a huge Assyrian palace, containing a large number of chambers and corridors, all the walls of which were lined with slabs bearing sculptured representations of gods and kings, and battles, and religious ceremonies. Side by side with these representations were long inscriptions in the cuneiform character. Botta sent despatch after despatch to his patron Mohl, and, thinking that he had discovered Nineveh, he announced to him that "Ninive était retrouvée." It was not Nineveh that he had discovered, but the palace of Sargon II, King of Assyria, B.C. 721–705. Before the end of May Botta definitely abandoned Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and devoted all his energies to the excavations at Khorsabad. In 1845, having completely cleared out Khorsabad, he returned to France with a magnificent collection of Assyrian sculptures and cuneiform inscriptions.

In 1845 Stratford Canning undertook to provide Layard with funds sufficient to begin excavating the great mound of Nimrûd, which lies about twenty miles south of Môṣul, and he further promised that if important sculptures were discovered there he would find the means

for clearing out the site. Layard had visited Nimrûd on two previous occasions, and contrary to the teaching of Arabian and Syrian historians and ancient local tradition, believed that the ruins of Nineveh were buried under the mound of Nimrûd, and there he betook himself and began his remarkably successful excavation of the site. Though the works at Nimrûd necessitated his constant supervision, he managed to watch the excavations which the new French Consul at Môṣul, Botta's successor, was carrying on at Ḳuyûnjiḳ. Before Botta left Môṣul in 1845 Layard had made an arrangement with him whereby he could excavate at Ḳuyûnjiḳ on behalf of Stratford Canning, but when he began work the new French Consul protested, and claimed to possess the sole right to excavate the mound. In spite of this Layard continued to open trenches in the south side of the mound, and the French Consul went on digging little pits a few feet deep in another direction. Both excavators worked in this way for about a month, but neither found anything of importance, and Layard stopped digging at Ḳuyûnjiḳ temporarily, and went to Nimrûd. During the years 1845–47 Layard succeeded in digging through a great many parts of the mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and in the course of this work he discovered many fine sculptures.[1] He was ably assisted by Mr. Ross, a British resident in Môṣul, who, in spite of the opposition of the Pâshâ and the French Consul, managed to keep the excavation of Ḳuyûnjiḳ going during Layard's long absences. When Layard returned to England in 1847 the Trustees of the British Museum asked Mr. Ross to carry on the excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ on a limited scale, and for nearly two years he did so with conspicuous success.[2] When he

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[1] The chambers excavated by Layard in 1845–47 and 1849–51 are clearly marked on the plan published with Rassam's paper in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii, p. 37 ff. Mr. Ross's discoveries, acknowledged by Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii, p. 138 ff.), are not noticed in this plan.

[2] We owe to Mr. Ross our earliest good general description of the sculptures of Sennacherib at Bavian, which lies about thirty miles north-east of Môṣul. The first European who visited them in modern times

left Môṣul he (with the approval of the Trustees of the British Museum) handed over the excavations to the care of the British Vice-Consul, Mr. Christian Rassam, who was instructed to keep the works at Ḳuyûnjiḳ going on a small scale until Layard's return. Layard went back to Assyria in 1849, and at once devoted all his energies to Ḳuyûnjiḳ, where work went on steadily until he left the East finally in 1851. The buildings which he excavated in the years 1849–51 are marked on Rassam's plan,[1] and a good idea of the vast amount of work which he accomplished during this period in the palace of Sennacherib alone may be obtained from his own summary of it. He says: "In this magnificent edifice I had opened no less than seventy-one halls, chambers, and passages, whose walls, almost without an exception, had been panelled with slabs of sculptured alabaster. By a rough calculation, about 9,880 feet, or nearly two miles of

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seems to have been M. Rouet, the French Consul at Môṣul, who was taken there by some natives in 1846 or 1847. Mr. Ross followed him in the winter of 1847–48, and drew up a description of the sculptures and inscribed tablets, which was printed by Layard in his "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii, pp. 142, 143. When Layard returned to Assyria in 1849 he went to Bavian, and spent two days there in copying the inscriptions and exploring the ruins (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 216); he travelled thither by Ross's route, viâ Bazaani and over the Maḳlûb and Missûri hills. The sculptures are cut in relief on the side of a rocky ravine on the right bank of the river Gomel. They consist of a series of tablets of various sizes, three of which are inscribed, and some large figures of gods standing on the backs of dogs, with two kings before them, and a series of smaller figures of Sennacherib, with divine emblems above him. In the river at the foot of the limestone cliff are several other sculptures, some very badly broken. Sketches of the sculptures were published by Layard in *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, pl. 51, and in *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 210 ff. The famous Bavian Inscription of Sennacherib was published by Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. iii, pl. 14. A popular description of the sculptures is given by Wigram, *Cradle of Mankind*, p. 121–4. Bavian was next visited by Victor Place about 1851, and it was claimed in the French papers that it was he who had first discovered the sculptures, which consisted of complete series of bas-reliefs sculptured with portrait figures of all the Assyrian kings from Tiglath Pileser I to Sennacherib.

[1] See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii, p. 37.

bas-reliefs, with twenty-seven portals, formed by colossal winged bulls and lion-sphinxes, were uncovered in that part alone of the building explored during my researches. The greatest length of the excavation was about 720 feet, the greatest breadth about 600 feet."[1]

During the excavations which Layard made at Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nimrûd in 1845–47, he was assisted by H. Rassam, who was his honorary secretary and overseer of works. During his Second Mission (1849–51)H. Rassam again acted in the same capacities, and when Layard was absent, and travelling about the country in search of adventures, the responsibility for conducting the excavations devolved upon him solely. In 1851 Layard abandoned the East, and Rawlinson took charge of the excavations. On Layard's recommendation the Trustees of the British Museum appointed H. Rassam to continue the excavations under the general control of Rawlinson, and at the end of 1852 he began work. Meanwhile, Victor Place had been sent out to Môṣul by the French Government to renew excavations both at Ḳuyûnjiḳ and at Khorsabad, for the French claimed Ḳuyûnjiḳ as French property, because Botta was the first to excavate there, notwithstanding the fact that the Sulṭân had given to Stratford Canning a permit to dig in any part of Turkey in Asia he pleased. When Rawlinson took charge of the work, Place obtained from him permission to dig at Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and thus it fell out that when Rassam wanted to dig there he found that his chief had practically made it impossible. Rassam had always hankered to clear out the northern corner of Ḳuyûnjiḳ which remained untouched, and, using strategy, he began to work there by night, and on the third night discovered the ruins of the palace of Ashur-bâni-pal, and the splendid set of sculptures which form the "Lion-hunt."[2] In March, 1854, Rassam left Môṣul for England, and as for private reasons he refused to return to Ḳuyûnjiḳ, Rawlinson recommended the Trustees of the British Museum to

[1] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 589.

[2] See his narrative of the discovery in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii, p. 41 ff.

appoint Loftus[1] to carry on further excavations with the new grant which they had obtained from the British Government. Loftus opened various parts of the mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and discovered bricks, tablets, and a few slabs, but he seems to have done little more than to continue the clearing of trenches made by his predecessors.

No further excavations were carried out at Ḳuyûnjiḳ until 1873. Between 1854 and that year scholars had had time to examine the mass of cuneiform tablets in the British Museum, to complete their system of decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, and to begin the publication of Assyrian and Babylonian texts. George Smith had searched through the collections from Nineveh, and had managed to collect a series of fragments of the "Deluge Tablet" from among them, and to translate them. The publication of his paper on the "Chaldean Account of the Deluge" created world-wide interest, and everyone was anxious that further search should be made at Nineveh for the missing fragments of the Assyrian story of the Flood. The proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* recognized the great value of Smith's discovery, and offered to spend one thousand guineas on excavations at Nineveh, provided that the Trustees of the British Museum would allow him to conduct the excavations, and to supply them from time to time with accounts of his journeys and discoveries. The Trustees accepted this generous offer, and gave Smith leave of absence for six months. He left London on January 20th, 1873, and arrived in Môṣul on March 2nd. As the Pâshâ prevented him from beginning work, he went by raft to Baghdâd, and paid a visit to Babylon and Birs-i-Nimrûd, and purchased

[1] William Kennett Loftus, born about 1821, died 1858. He served as geologist on the staff of Sir W. Fenwick Williams's Turco-Persian Frontier Commission from 1849–1852. In 1853 he was sent out to Mesopotamia by the Assyrian Exploration Fund, and spent the two following years in excavating ancient sites in Babylonia and Assyria. He published the results of his Babylonian work in *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, London, 1857. He resumed his work on the Frontier Commission in India in 1856, but overwork and ill-health compelled him to resign, and he died on his way to England.

a collection of contract tablets. He returned to Môṣul on April 2nd, and then went to Nimrûd, where he excavated the temple of Nebo and other sites until May 4th. He began work at Ḳuyûnjiḳ on May 7th, and on May 14th he discovered a fragment of the "Deluge Tablet," containing "the greater portion of seventeen lines of inscription belonging to the first column of the Chaldean account of the Deluge, and fitting into the only place where there was a serious blank in the story."[1] He closed the works at Ḳuyûnjiḳ early the following month, and on June 9th he left Môṣul, and arrived in England on July 19th. The tablets, etc., which he tried to bring with him were seized by the Customs' authorities at Alexandretta, and were only released by them some weeks later after a protest to the Porte by the British Ambassador.

The permit from the Porte under which Smith had been working expired on the 9th or 10th of March, 1874, and the results of his excavations were so important that the Trustees of the British Museum decided to send him to Nineveh on their own account. He therefore left London on November 25th, and arrived in Môṣul on January 1st, 1874. He confined his operations entirely to Ḳuyûnjiḳ, but even so the local authorities gave him a good deal of trouble, and his difficulties with them and with his workmen became so pronounced that he was obliged to close the excavations on March 12th. Before he left Môṣul on April 4th the Pâshâ took from him, by order of the Porte, all the duplicates of his collection for the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople. The reasons for the obstruction which he encountered at Môṣul, and the refusal of the authorities to let him carry off all his treasures, are things easily understood if they be looked at from the Turkish point of view. Smith's discoveries were "boomed" in the papers in England, and every small fragment which he brought from Nineveh was described as "priceless" and "unique." All such descriptions found their way into Continental papers, through which they reached the Porte, and the

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[1] Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1875, p. 97.

Government in Stambûl believed that Smith and other excavators were carrying priceless treasures out of Turkey. Smith practically created the trade in antiquities in Môṣul and Baghdâd. He bought dated tablets of the Persian and Parthian Periods, a large boundary-stone,[1] the lion of Khian,[2] etc., from the natives of Baghdâd, and he purchased the famous memorial slab of Rammân-nirari I[3] from M. Péretié, the French Consul at Môṣul.[4] Rumour exaggerated the prices paid for these things, and the Porte firmly believed that the Turks were losing a large revenue by allowing antiquities to leave their country.

In 1876 the Trustees of the British Museum again sent Smith to the East, and he visited Môṣul and Baghdâd, where he bought further collections of tablets, etc. As, unfortunately, he died on his return journey, near Aleppo (see Vol. I., p. 387), details of his labours on this, his Third Mission, are wanting; but from what I was told by natives at Aleppo and Môṣul of the difficulties which he encountered through the opposition of the Turkish authorities, and through the dishonesty and revolt of his workmen, it seemed that his last excavation at Ḳuyûnjiḳ yielded very poor results.

In 1877 H. Rassam[5] returned to Môṣul to continue excavations on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum, and in November of that year he began to work both at Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nimrûd. Among the treasures which he found in the former place was the magnificent ten-sided cylinder of Ashur-bâni-pal, now in the British Museum. He continued his excavations at both places until the winter of 1878–79, when he went to Babylonia, and began to dig at Babylon, Birs-i-Nimrûd, Abu Ḥabbah and other ancient sites.

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[1] Bought for the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph*. Brit. Mus. No. 90,850.

[2] Egyptian Gallery, No. 987. [3] Brit. Mus., No. 90,978.

[4] *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 47. According to Mr. H. Rassam (*Asshur*, p. 210), the French Consul bought the slab from a native for 30 piastres, and sold it to Smith for £70!

[5] For a full account of his excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ see his *Asshur and Land of Nimrod*, pp. 7, 208, 222.

As the result of the intensive study of the Ḳuyûnjiḳ tablets that went on among Assyriologists all over the world between 1872 and 1887, there was a demand for a further examination of the mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and the Trustees of the British Museum decided to apply to the Porte for a permit to re-open the excavations there. The permit was, in due course, obtained, as I have already stated (see Vol. I., p. 360), and I found myself at Môṣul in the middle of January, 1889, ready to begin work. I started with a limited number of men, which I increased up to two hundred. From what has been said above, it will be readily understood that there was small hope of making any great discovery in a mound which had been dug through by Botta, Ross, Layard, Rassam, Loftus and Smith, and from which so many bas-reliefs and other sculptures and cuneiform tablets had been extracted. My task was a humble one, and consisted chiefly in searching through the débris in the palaces of Senna-cherib and Ashur-bâni-pal, and the heaps of earth outside them. I should have liked to carry away to a distance all the débris in the chambers, and sift it carefully, but the materials for a light railway and the necessary plant were not available, and we therefore had to do all our work with shovels and baskets only. The work went on steadily from the third week in January until the end of June, 1889, and from November, 1890, until January, 1891, and from first to last we recovered from the mound about 590 tablets, fragments of tablets,[1] and other objects.

Twelve years later the Trustees of the British Museum decided to re-open the excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and they sent out one of their officials, Mr. L. W. King, to carry out the work. Mr. King left Constantinople on December 22nd, 1902, and arrived in Môṣul on January 26th, 1903, and he dug from March 3rd to July 18th, and from September 9th of that year till April 18th, 1904. He was relieved by another official from the Museum, Mr. R. C.

[1] Descriptions of these will be found in Bezold, *Catalogue*, vols. i–v, London, 1889–99.

Thompson, who arrived in Môṣul on February 29th, and took sole charge of the works there from June 22nd, 1904, to February 11th, 1905, when the excavations were finally closed by the Trustees. Short of digging down and sifting the whole mound, it seemed that nothing more was to be found there.[1] Two years later rumours reached London that further excavations had been carried on at Nineveh, but by whom and in what spot was not clear. A little later further rumours stated that some important "finds" had been made, and some of these having made their way to England were acquired by the British Museum in 1909–14. Among these were the fine cylinder of Sennacherib (No. 103,000[2]), dated in the eponymy of Ilu-ittia (B.C. 694), and several large pieces of other historical cylinders of the same king. There is no doubt that the cylinder was found in a chamber built in the wall (or perhaps it was sunk in the actual wall), close to one of the human-headed bulls of one of the gates of Nineveh, and the bull near which it was placed must have been removed before it could be extracted from the wall. There was only one bull left *in situ* when I was last at Ḳuyûnjiḳ (1891), and it was in a perfect state. When Mr. Parry saw it in 1892[3] its head had been hacked off and taken to mend a local mill. Subsequently, according to report, "the whole monument was sold for the sum of three shillings and sixpence by the Vali of Môṣul, and burnt into lime by its purchaser."[4] It is probable that cylinder No. 103,000 was discovered by the natives when they were breaking this bull to pieces, and we must be thankful that they had sense enough to realize that it would fetch more money complete than when broken into fragments.

Brief mention must now be made of the other great

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[1] For descriptions of the tablets and fragments recovered from the mound by Messrs. King and Thompson, see L. W. King's *Supplement* (London, 1914) to Bezold's *Catalogue*.

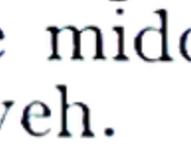
[2] King, *Supplement*, No. 3329, p. 222, and *Cuneiform Texts*, Pt. XXVI, London, 1909.

[3] *Six Months*, p. 248.

[4] W. A. Wigram, *Cradle of Mankind*, London, 1914, p. 84.

mound at Nineveh, namely, Tall Nabi Yûnis, or the "Hill of Jonah the Prophet." The shape of this mound is irregular, and it has an area of about forty acres. It is practically divided into two parts by a gap or ravine; on the western part stand the village of Nabi Yûnis and the so-called Tomb of Jonah, and the eastern part contains a large cemetery. The western side of the mound, which is rather steep, seems at one time to have been joined to the city wall. In spite of every effort made by Europeans the mound of Nabi Yûnis has not been completely excavated, even though it is well known that palaces of Sennacherib and of Esarhaddon are buried in it. The great obstacle to its examination and excavation has always been, and still is, the Tomb of Jonah, which rests on its summit within a mosque,[1] called after the saint's name. A very ancient tradition asserts that Jonah stood upon this mound and preached repentance to the Ninevites, and several Arab writers (see above, pp. 9 and 32) call it "Tall at-Tawbah," *i.e.*, the "Hill of Repentance."[2] A local tradition, which was repeated to me several times, also associates with Jonah the spring or fountain about half a mile distant from Nabi Yûnis. It rises from the limestone, through an opening in the western bank of what was the middle moat outside the east wall of the city of Nineveh. The water in Rich's time was "good and clear and pure," and it was so when I drank of it. Though it had no mineral taste that I could distinguish, the natives have always attributed to it most miraculous healing properties, due not in any way to the water itself, but to the fact that Jonah drank of it, and washed in it when he was in Nineveh. The penitent

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[1] The mosque is described by Rich, *Narrative*, ii, p. 32. Its peaked cone stands at a height of about 136 feet above the junction of the Khusur (in Assyrian ) with the Tigris; see Felix Jones, *Topography of Nineveh*, p. 433.

[2] Thévenot says that the Ninevites only abjured their evil works for forty years, and that after that period they returned to them. Therefore, "Dieu renversa la Ville sens dessus dessous, et les habitans aussi, qui furent enterrez sous les ruines, la teste en bas, et les pieds en haut." *Suite du Voyage de Levant*, p. 99.

Ninevites also washed in it, and it removed all their material and spiritual infirmities, and to this day it is believed to do the same to every religious man—Jew, Christian, Arab, or Kurd—who goes to the spring in faith.[1] Once a year the natives sacrifice a sheep there, and make a feast with singing and dancing, and this custom proves (to my mind) that the spring was a holy place long before Jonah preached at Nineveh.

When Rich visited Nabi Yûnis he acquired many antiquities, *e.g.*, "written bricks," seal-cylinders, and a "curious little stone chair,"[2] which had been found at Nabi Yûnis. The foundation cylinder of Sennacherib,[3] which he bought there, proves that even at that early period the natives must have dug their way down to the foundation of some important part of Sennacherib's palace. Another proof of this is the "Taylor Cylinder" of Sennacherib, a priceless document, recording the first eight campaigns of this king,[4] which was obtained

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[1] The Turks call the spring "Damlâmâjah," دملاماجه. This is the "Thisbé's Well" of Rich's *Narrative*, and on one of its walls Captain Kefala cut the name of Mary Rich (*Narrative*, ii, p. 51).

[2] *Narrative*, ii, pp. 38, 55.

[3] The "Bellino Cylinder," Brit. Mus., K. 1680. Though included in the Ḳuyûnjiḳ Collection, there is no proof that this cylinder came from Ḳuyûnjiḳ, but if it did not the argument remains unchanged. It contains sixty-four lines of text, and describes the first two campaigns of Sennacherib, and was written B.C. 702. The text was first published by Grotefend in the *Abhandlungen* of the Academy of Göttingen in 1850; for the literature see Bezold, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, p. 97; and Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 331.

[4] Fox Talbot (*Jnl. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xix, p. 135) says it was found at Ḳuyûnjiḳ, but this is impossible. The text of this cylinder was already injured in places in 1840, when Rawlinson made a paper "rubbing" of all its six sides; from this rubbing a plaster facsimile of the cylinder was made by the late Mr. Robert Ready of the British Museum. The cylinder was lost sight of for several years, but at length it was recovered from Baghdâd, and Rawlinson purchased it on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum from Mrs. Taylor in July, 1855. The complete text (487 lines) was first published by Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i, pls. 37–42. For the literature see Bezold, *Bab.-Assyr. Lit.*, p. 96, and Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1620, where by some extraordinary oversight no mention is made of Smith's important work on the Annals of Sennacherib (ed. Sayce).

(? purchased) at Nabi Yûnis[1] by Colonel J. Taylor, British Consul-General at Baghdâd, in 1830. And yet another proof is the six-sided cylinder of Esarhaddon,[2] which Layard obtained from Nabi Yûnis, and gave to the British Museum in 1848. When it first came into his possession he does not state, but he says that both it and the Taylor Cylinder were discovered, "he believed," in the mound of Nabi Yûnis. It is quite clear that he did not excavate the cylinder himself, for he adds that it had been used "as a candlestick by a respectable Turcoman family living in the village on the mound of Nebbi Yunus, near the tomb of the prophet."[3] The cylinder is hollow, and has a hole at each end, and the grease stains upon one end, which are still visible, show in which hole the tallow candle was placed. The Turcoman who owned it must, judging by the grease stains, have had it in use for some time, and it is fortunate that the top of it, in which the candle was placed, is not more damaged than it is. Thus it is quite clear that the natives of Nabi Yûnis had penetrated to the foundations of the palaces of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon many years before Botta and Layard began to dig at Nineveh.

Another collector of tablets and antiquities at Nineveh was Maximilian Ryllo[4] (born December 31st, 1802, died at Khartûm June 17th, 1848), a Jesuit Father, who brought to Rome a collection of antiquities,[5] and

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[1] Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 345) also states that this cylinder was discovered at Nabi Yûnis.

[2] It gives an account of his expedition against Sidon and the conquest of Northern Syria, etc., and describes the building of his palace at Nineveh. The text (358 lines) was first published by Layard (*Inscriptions*, pls. 20–29). For the literature see Bezold, *Bab.-Assyr. Lit.* p. 104; and Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1689.

[3] *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii, p. 186.

[4] A full account of his work in the Sûdân and of the establishment of his Mission at Khartûm will be found in G. Moroni's *Dizionario di Erudizione*, Venice, 1840-61, vol. xcviii, p. 278 ff. For his life and writings see the work quoted in the following note.

[5] "Le P. Ryllo rapporta, en 1830 [*sic*] de Mossoul à Rome des moulages de débris de monuments Assyriens. Ils furent déposés à la Vaticane." See *Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, edited by de Backer and C. Sommervogel, 1st ed., vol. iii, col. 442 (Louvain, 1876); 2nd ed., vol. vii, coll. 343, 344 (Paris, 1896).

presented them to Pope Gregory XVI in 1838; they are now in the Vatican.[1] This collection was examined and described in 1903, and consists of (1) Part of a brick. (2) Fragment of a cylinder of Sennacherib. (3) A tablet of adoption, dated in the thirtieth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II. (4) A contract tablet (ninth year of Nabonidus or Darius). (5) Fragment of an alabaster vessel. (6) Fragment of a brick of Nebuchadnezzar II. (7) Layer of bitumen, with impression of a similar brick. (8 and 9) Fragments of two cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar II. (10) Babylonian seal with figures of Gilgamish and a bull, and Eabani and a lion. (11) Cylinder seal of Sharru-ili. (12) Large cylinder seal with figures of the Bull of Ishtar, Gilgamish, Eabani, etc. (13–18) Small cylinder seals. Without numbers are: (1) Object in lapis lazuli. (2–8) Seven small Sassanian gems. (9) A scarab, inscribed on the base. (10) Fragment of a vase.[2]

Now though Layard states that "to disturb a grave on Nebbi Yûnis would cause a tumult which might lead to no agreeable results," he succeeded by artifice in finding out the contents of one part of the mound. Hearing that the owner of one of the largest houses on the mound wanted to make underground chambers for the use of himself and kinsfolk in the summer, Layard proposed to him, through his overseer, to excavate them for him, provided that any sculptures, inscribed stones, etc., should belong to Layard. The native agreed, and the overseer was rewarded by finding several inscriptions and bricks bearing the name and titles and genealogy of Esarhaddon[3] (B.C. 681–668). Soon after Layard returned to England a native of Nabi Yûnis, whilst digging the

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[1] The label over the cases reads: Gregorio XVI Pont. Max. | Musei Etrusci ac Aegyptiaci Conditori | sigilla et scripta gemmis lateribusque | ab Asiae gentibus vetustissimis insculpta | Maximilianus Ryllo Sodalis e Soc. Jesu | ab expeditione Babylonica redux | an. Christ. M. DCCC. XXXVIII. I owe this transcript to the great courtesy of Monsignor Giovanni Mercati.

[2] See Peiser, in *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, Bd. vii, February 15th, 1904, p. 38 ff.

[3] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 598.

foundations of his house, discovered two colossal human-headed bulls, and two large slabs sculptured with figures of a king fighting with lions. The British Vice-Consul and Mr. Hodder, an artist who was sent to Nineveh by the Trustees of the British Museum, were informed of the discovery, but they did nothing to secure these treasures, and the Turkish authorities seized them, and they disappeared. Hilmi, the Wâlî Pâshâ of Môṣul in 1851–52, was much more enlightened than any of his predecessors, and took an intelligent interest in the history of the country over which he was called to rule in (what the Muslims call) the "Jahilîyah," or the "Era of Ignorance," *i.e.*, Pre-Islamic times. As soon as he heard of the native's discovery at Nabi Yûnis, he collected a gang of workmen from among the prisoners in gaol,[1] and in April, 1854, dug into the mound at a place close by the Tomb of Jonah. He opened out several chambers, and discovered two splendid bulls, each about sixteen feet high, and a series of slabs covered with cuneiform inscriptions, and a large number of bricks of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. But to have made a complete success of the work Hilmi Pâshâ would have been obliged to tunnel under the Tomb of Jonah, and when the inhabitants of the village saw this they raised such an outcry that the excavations had to be abandoned. Among the inscriptions discovered by Hilmi Pâshâ was one which has been called the "Constantinople Inscription," and the "Memorial Tablet," and the "Nebbi Yûnis Inscription" of Sennacherib. This important monument bears an inscription (in two columns, which contain fifty and forty-four lines respectively), giving an account of the great wars of this king, and a description of the "Bît Kutalli," or "Arsenal," which he built at Nabi Yûnis.[e] On the authority of Rawlinson, people have always believed it to be at Constantinople, but I

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[1] Jones, in *Jnl. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xv, p. 327.

[e] The text is published by Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i, pls. 43, 44. I gave a rendering of the greater part of it in *Records of the Past*, vol. xi, p. 45 ff. (Old Series).

never succeeded in finding it, and Ḥamdî Bey told me that he had never seen it.

Nothing more was done at Nabi Yûnis until 1879, when Mr. H. Rassam returned to Môṣul. In that year some of the villagers offered to let him dig under their houses, and others offered to sell him their houses so that he might dig under them. As the owners of the houses could not sell them without the permission of the keepers of the Mosque, Rassam went to them, and told them that he proposed to buy certain houses, and they gave him authority to do so. He bought several houses, and began to dig under them, but a few days after he started some natives in the village said they objected to his excavations, and petitioned the local authorities to stop the works. The Wâlî Pâshâ inquired into the matter, and was prepared to allow the digging to go on, but when the Mutasarrif, or District Governor, called the attention of the Minister of Public Instruction at Stambûl to the petition against the works, the Porte ordered them to be stopped, and the Wâlî was obliged to obey the order.[1]

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[1] See Rassam's account in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. viii, p. 195; and in *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 292.

Al-Mawṣil, or Môṣul.[1]

Nineveh, the "exceeding great city of three days' journey" (Jonah iii, 3), was built on the left bank of the Tigris, just as Babylon was built on the left bank of the Euphrates, and as the city of Babylon grew and spread across to the right bank of the Euphrates, so, when Nineveh became great, it spread across to the right bank of the Tigris. Western Babylon developed in the course of centuries into Ḥillah, and Western Nineveh developed in the course of centuries into Al-Mawṣil. It may be assumed that Western Nineveh suffered as severely as Nineveh itself when the Medes seized the capital and destroyed it. But its site was in all times most suitable for a market and trading centre, and on it or near it a town has always stood. Of the history of Western Nineveh in the earliest ages nothing seems to be known, but in Sassanian times the town which occupied part or all of its site was called "Bûdh Ardashîr," and its masters were, of course, Sassanians. The name always given to the town by Muslim writers is "Al-Mawṣil,"[2] or "the junction," *i.e.*, the town at the place where several streams of the Tigris join, and it seems to have been known by this name for about twelve hundred years.[3] After the conquest of Mesopotamia by the Arabs the town soon became a thriving trading centre, and in the middle of the eighth century it was the capital of the Province of Jazîrah, and the principal town of the district of Dîâr Rabî'ah.[4] Muslim writers of the tenth century describe

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[1] This is the common native pronunciation, and I use it throughout.

[2] الموصل. See Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. de Goeje, p. 143 ff.; Muḳaddasî, ed. de Goeje, pp. 138, 139, 146; Abu'l Fidâ, p. 54; Yâḳût, vol. iv, 684.

[3] Muḳaddasî (ed. de Goeje, p. 138, last line) says that Môṣul was called "Khawlân" خولان.

[4] Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 87.



View of Môṣul from the west bank of the Tigris.



The new bridge over the Tigris at Môṣul.

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Al-Mawṣil, or Môṣul, as a fine large town, with good markets, and surrounded with beautiful gardens. Soon after the Arabs became masters of Môṣul they joined it by means of a bridge of boats to the town which had sprung up about the ruins of Nineveh on the eastern bank, and the town greatly prospered. Its houses were strong, and built of the grey alabaster which is brought from quarries in Jabal Maḳlûb, and it was said to be about one-third of the size of Al-Baṣrah. The Mosque built on the river bank by Marwân II (about 749 ?) was a fine and decorative building, and the strong "square" Castle (Al-Murabba'ah) which stood on a slight elevation gave dignity as well as protection to the town. Benjamin of Tudela, who was in Môṣul about 1173, says of it: "This city, which is mentioned in Scripture as 'Ashur the Great,' is situated on the confines of Persia, and is of great extent and very ancient. It stands on the banks of the Tigris, and is united by a bridge with Nineveh. There are 7,000 Jews in it. Although Nineveh lies in ruins, there are numerous inhabited villages and small townships on its site. Nineveh is distant one parasang from the town of Arbîl, and stands on the Tigris. Môṣul contains the synagogues of Obadiah, of Jonah ben Amithai, and of Nahum, the Elkoshite."[1] At this time the town was protected by high walls, and a very deep moat, and its suburbs were populous, and possessed many mosques and religious houses of the Christians and was famous for its hospital.

Ibn Baṭûṭah visited Môṣul in the middle of the fourteenth century, and he says that it was "ancient and rich." Its Castle was then called "Al-Ḥadbâ," *i.e.*, the "humpbacked," because it was built on a rounded rise in the ground, and it was said to be impregnable by reason of its massive wall, flanked with towers. A large wide street ran between the government buildings and the town, and joined Upper and Lower Môṣul. The town had two very thick, strong walls, with towers at frequent

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[1] *Itinerary* of Rabbi Benjamin, ed. Asher, London, 1840, p. 91.

intervals, which resembled those of Delhi, in India. Mosques, baths, khâns, and bazârs were numerous, and he admired the famous iron railings that surrounded the mosque built by Marwân II, and the benches overlooking the river. In the mosque built by Nûr ad-Dîn was an octagonal marble fountain resting on a marble pillar, and the jet of water in it played to the height of a man. The Mâristân, or hospital, was in front of this mosque. The bazâr, or "Kaysârîyah," had gates made of iron, and shops and rooms, one above the other, ran round all sides of it. Between the new mosque and the bridge gate was the little mosque containing the tomb of Saint George, who was revered by Muslims and Christians alike.

"Across the river is Tall Yûnis, on whom be peace! and about one mile from it is the 'Ayn, or healing spring, which is called 'The Fountain of Yûnis.' It is said that Jonah called upon the Ninevites to cleanse themselves in its waters, and that when they had done so they went up on the hill, and he prayed with them, and God averted the punishment from them which they deserved. On the Tall is a large building containing many chambers and halls, and places for ablutions, and fountains, and all these are shut in by a single door. In the middle of this building is a chamber with a silk curtain over it, and it has a door inlaid with precious stones. It is said that Yûnis used to live in this place, and that the Miḥrâb of the shrine which was in this building is the place where he used to pray. Near Tall Yûnis is a large village, and close by it is a mass of ruins which is said to be the site of the well-known city of Nineveh, the city of Yûnis, on whom be peace! The remains of the wall which encircled the city are visible, and the places where the gates were in it can be plainly seen."[1] Muḳaddasî, who wrote in the latter half of the tenth century, calls 'Jonah's Hill' the 'Hill of Repentance' (Tall at-Tawbah), and says that "Jonah's Fountain is half a parasang distant, and that by it are a mosque and the 'place of the gourd plant of Yûnis' (Shajarah al-Yaḳṭîn)."[2] It is interesting

[1] Ibn Baṭûṭah, *Voyages*, iv, p. 135 ff.
[2] Muḳaddasî, p. 146.

to note that Ibn Baṭûṭah seems to have seen no trace of the damage which Changiz Khân did to the town of Môṣul when he captured it (A.H. 654 = A.D. 1256), and when he is said to have put to death between seven and eight hundred thousand of its inhabitants. The town suffered greatly at the hands of Tîmûr-i-Leng (A.H. 796 = A.D. 1393), who practically left it a heap of ruins. The Persians held it in the early years of the sixteenth century, but the Turks, under Salîm, took it in 1516, and from that time the trade and importance of the town declined.

In Rauwolf's time (died 1596) the town was still of importance. He says: "We went into the famous City Mossul (*sic*) . . . over a Bridge made of Boats. This is situated in the Country of the Curters (Kurds). . . . It belongeth to the Turkish Emperour, as all the rest hereabout. There are some very good Buildings and Streets in it, and it is pretty large; but very ill provided with Walls and Ditches, as I did observe from the top of our Camp which extended to it. Besides this, I also saw just without the Town a little Hill, that was almost quite dug through, and inhabited by poor People, where I saw them several times creep in and out as Pismires do in Ant-hills. In this place and thereabout, stood formerly the Potent Townn of Nineve (built by Ashur) which was the Metropolis of Assyria, under the Monarch of the first Monarchy to the time of Sennacherib and his Sons, and was about three Days' Journey in length."[1]

According to Tavernier (born 1605, died 1689), Môṣul was not worth visiting, and when he was there it had lost most of its importance.[2] He says: "Moussul is a City that makes a great show without, the Walls being of Free-stone; but within it is almost all ruin'd, having only two blind Market-places, with a little Castle upon the Tigris, where the Basha lives. In a word, there is nothing worth a Man's sight in Moussul, the place being

[1] *Travels*, Ray's *Collection*, p. 204.

[2] But compare Thévenot's description of Môṣul, which was printed in 1674. (*Suite du Voyage*, p. 95.)

only considerable for the great concourse of Merchants, especially the Arabians and Curds, which are the inhabitants of the great Assyria, now called Curdistan, where there grows great plenty of Galls, and for which there is a great Trade. There are in it four sorts of Christians—Greeks, Armenians, Nestorians and Maronites. The Capuchins had a pretty Dwelling upon the Tigris; but the Basha laying a Fine upon them, because they were about to enlarge it, they were forc'd to quit it. The City is governed by a Basha, that has under him, part Janizaries, part Spahi's, about three thousand men. There are only two scurvy Inns in Moussul. . . . But now let us cross the Tigris, over a Bridge of Boats, to view the sad Ruines of a city that has made such a noise in the World; though there be now scarce any appearance of its ancient splendour. Nineveh was built upon the left Shoar of the Tigris, upon Assyria-side, being now only a heap of Rubbish extending almost a League along the River. There are abundance of Vaults and Caverns uninhabited; nor could a man well conjecture whether they were the ancient Habitations of the people, or whether any houses had been built upon them in former times; for most of the houses in Turkie are like Cellars, or else but one Story high. Half a League from Tigris stands a little hill encompass'd with Houses, on the top whereof is built a Mosquée. The people of the Country say 'twas the place where Jonas was bury'd; and for that place they have so great a veneration that no Christians are suffer'd to enter into it, but privately, and for Money. By that means I got in with two Capuchin Fryars; but we were forc'd to put off our Shooes first. In the middle of the Mosquée stood a Sepulchre, cover'd with a Persian carpet of Silk and Silver, and at the four corners great Copper Candlesticks with Wax Tapers, besides several Lamps and Ostridge Shells that hung down from the Roof. We saw a great number of Moores without, and within sat two Dervi's reading the Alcoran."[1]

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[1] *Travels*, London, 1684, p. 71.

In spite of all the attempts I made to get into the Mosque of Nabi Yûnis, I found it impossible to do so. The guardians and keepers of the various parts of it watched me with more than ordinary care, for they knew that I was collecting antiquities and Syriac and Arabic manuscripts, and they seemed to be afraid that I would carry off the building itself to London. The Wâlî told me that no Christian had ever entered the mosque, and he hoped that I would not try to do so, because the mullahs would make complaints against him in Stambûl if I succeeded. From what I could see of the outside of the mosque, very few portions of it seemed to be older than the sixteenth or seventeenth century, but portions inside must be many centuries older. According to Layard the tomb of Jonah is in a dark inner room. The sarcophagus, which is made of wood or plaster, stands in the centre of the room, upon a common European carpet, and is covered with a green cloth embroidered with extracts from the Ḳur'ân. Ostrich eggs and coloured tassels, such as are found in all Arab sanctuaries, hang from the ceiling. A staircase leads into the holy chamber.[1] Miss Badger, who through the Pâshâ's influence succeeded in gaining admission to the tomb some ten years before Layard, gives a somewhat different description. Passing through a spacious courtyard and along a fine open terrace, she descended into the mosque, which is a square building, lighted by several windows of stained glass. The eastern end is separated from the nave by a row of noble arches, which probably formed a part of the old church dedicated to Jonah. The pulpit (*mimbar*) stands at the south end, and the floor is covered with rich carpets. A passage, with locked doors, about thirty feet long, leads down into a square room with a vaulted roof, and in the middle of this, raised about five feet from the ground, stands the coffin, which measures ten feet by five feet. On the south end of this is an enormous turban made of costly silks, and shawls,

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i, p. xxii; *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 596.

and the coffin itself is covered with rich stuffs. A railing with large silver knobs runs round the coffin, and on it hang embroidered towels and bathing cloths. The walls of the room are decorated with mirrors, coloured tiles, and texts from the Ḳur'ân. In one corner of it are placed a gilt ewer and basin, a ball of French soap, a comb, and a pair of scissors, for the use of the Prophet Jonah, who leaves his tomb at the times appointed for prayer daily, and performs his ablutions according to the strict ceremonial law of the Muslims.[1] Very few of the faithful ever approach the tomb, for it is considered to be most holy, and many men are content to look at it through the grated window in the mosque. The inhabitants of Nabi Yûnis, and the people around it for miles, would tolerate no interference with the mosque, or the tomb, or the cemetery; and the ruins of the palaces of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, which lie beneath them, have never been excavated.

There appears to be no evidence that Jonah was buried at Nineveh. Many Jews in Môṣul believe with Benjamin of Tudela (ed. Asher, p. 92) that the "province of Ashshûr"[2] contains the synagogues of Obadiah, Jonah and Nahum, the prophets, and at least respect the tradition which makes Nabi Yûnis the burial place of Jonah. The Christians do not accept the tradition, and believe that Jonah was buried in Palestine, but have no facts to support them.[3] Yet it is clear that in some way or

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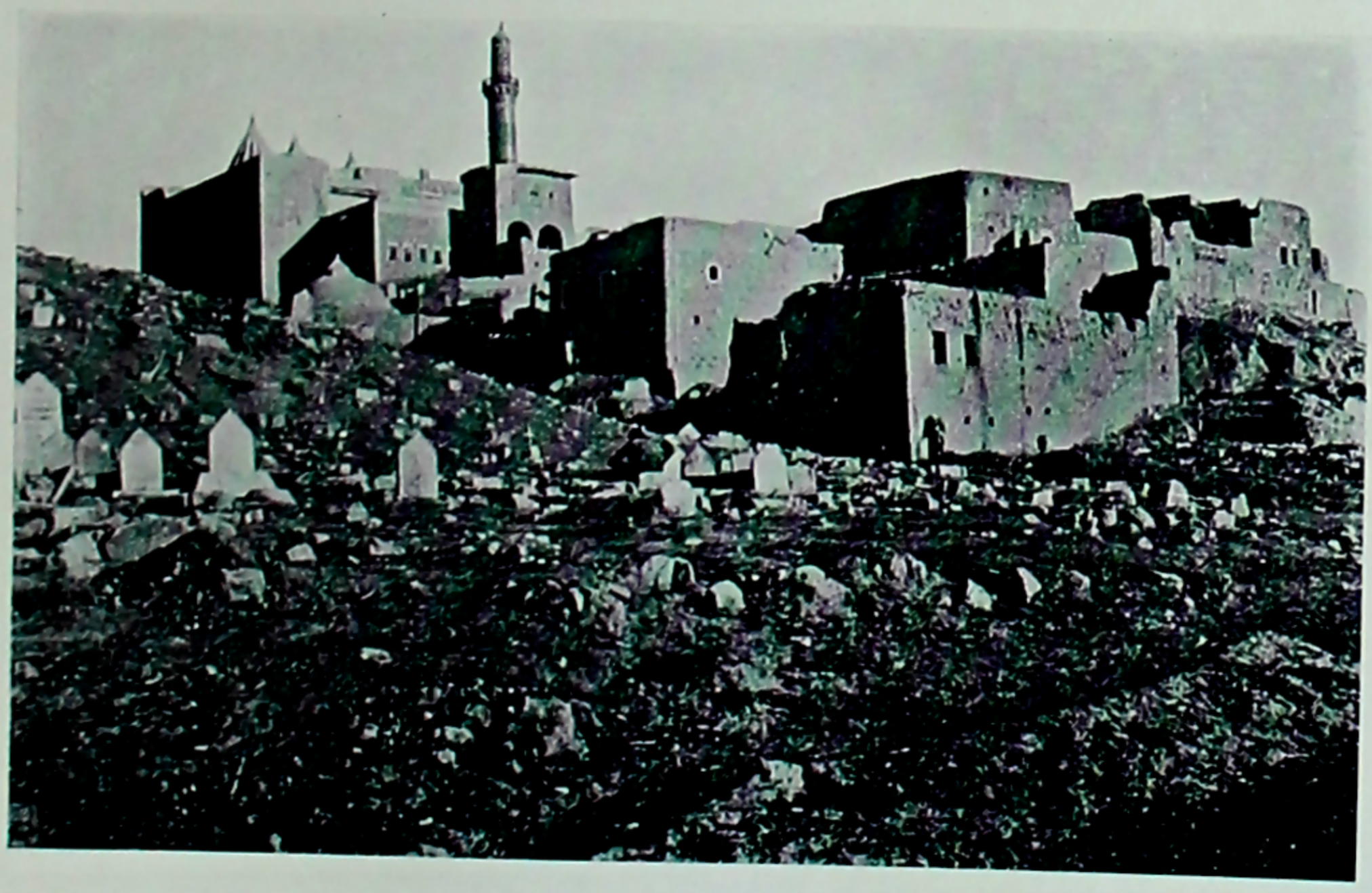
[1] Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. i, p. 85.

[2] מְדִינַת אַשּׁוּר (Heb. text, p. 53).

[3] According to Solomon of Baṣrah (see my *Book of the Bee*, pp. 70, 71) Jonah came from Gath-hepher (2 Kings xiv, 25), or from Kûryath Âdâmôs, which is near Ascalon and Gaza and the seacoast. He prophesied in the reign of Sardânâ (Esarhaddon), and then because the Jews hated him, he took his mother and went with her to Assyria and lived there. He rebuked Ahab, and called down a famine on the land. The widow of Elijah received him, and he returned to Judæa; his mother died on the way, and he buried her by Deborah's grave. He lived in the land of Sarîdâ, and died two years after the people had returned from Babylon (*sic*), and was buried in the cave of Ḳainân. Epiphanius has Καὶ κατοικήσας ἐν γῇ Σαὰρ, ἐκεῖ ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ Καινεζεοῦ.



The Tomb of the patriarch Seth at Môṣul.



The Mosque of Nabi Yûnis and modern cemetery.

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other the mound became associated with Jonah's name, and it is probable that a church was built on the mound in the early centuries of the Christian era, and when the "Fortress of Nineveh," *i.e.*, Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and Môṣul were captured by the Arabs about A.D. 640, the followers of the Prophet respected the church and the tradition, and absorbed both of them by building a mosque. Whether this be so or not, the mound of Nabi Yûnis has enjoyed great fame as a most holy place for centuries, and large numbers of Arabs, Kurds and Persians, many having been brought considerable distances, are buried not only on the hill itself, but in the ground about it. No Wâlî of Môṣul or of Baghdâd has ever succeeded in wholly overcoming public opinion against the excavation of the mound, and no European ambassador has been able to persuade the Porte to agree to it. But the villagers of Nabi Yûnis have managed to excavate secretly small parts of it during the last hundred and twenty years, not so much with the object of finding antiquities, as of finding alabaster bas-reliefs to burn into lime for the repair of the mosque of Jonah and their own houses.

F. Vincenzo Maria, who also visited Môṣul in the seventeenth century, describes the town as "picciola, ristretta, e povera d'habitazioni." Vincenzo went across the river to look at the ruins of Nineveh, but they did not interest him, and he saw only great heaps of earth and masses of "burnt stones" scattered about. "Fui un giorno per vederla (*i.e.*, l' antica Ninive), mà come non discernevo, che confusi montoni di terra, con un' infinità di pietre cotte disordinate, sparse per ogni parte senza trovar cosa degna di memoria, me ne tornai, pensando à che segno giongino le cose più grandi e più celebrate dal Mondo." (*Il Viaggio all' Indie Orientali*, Venice, 1683, p. 80.) On the other hand, about half a century later, Otter[1] says: "Les kiervanserais, les palais, et les autres édifices, bâtis de pierres dures, sont assez beaux. . . . La ville est riche, et les habitans sont braves."

In 1743 Môṣul was bombarded for forty-one days by

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[1] I, 136. He was born 1707, and died 1748.

Nadîr Shâh, and was only saved from capture and pillage by the breaking out of a rebellion in Persia, which made it necessary for him to return to his own country. The wonder is that anything was left of the town after the bombardment, for it was said that forty thousand cannon shot were fired into it. The Pâshâ and the people of the town all behaved with great bravery, and as fast as the walls were knocked down they built them up. It is said that Nadîr Shâh planted his guns among the ruins of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and for several days shelled the northern end of Môṣul, where there were no houses at all. The general appearance of the town in the latter half of the eighteenth century is indicated by the plan published by C. Niebuhr.[1] Parts of the walls were in ruins, and many of the flanking towers also. There were seven gates, not including the Bâb al-Amadi, which was walled up when Nadîr Shâh was bombarding the town. The arrangement of the streets, which are all very narrow, was in 1889 substantially what it was in Niebuhr's time.

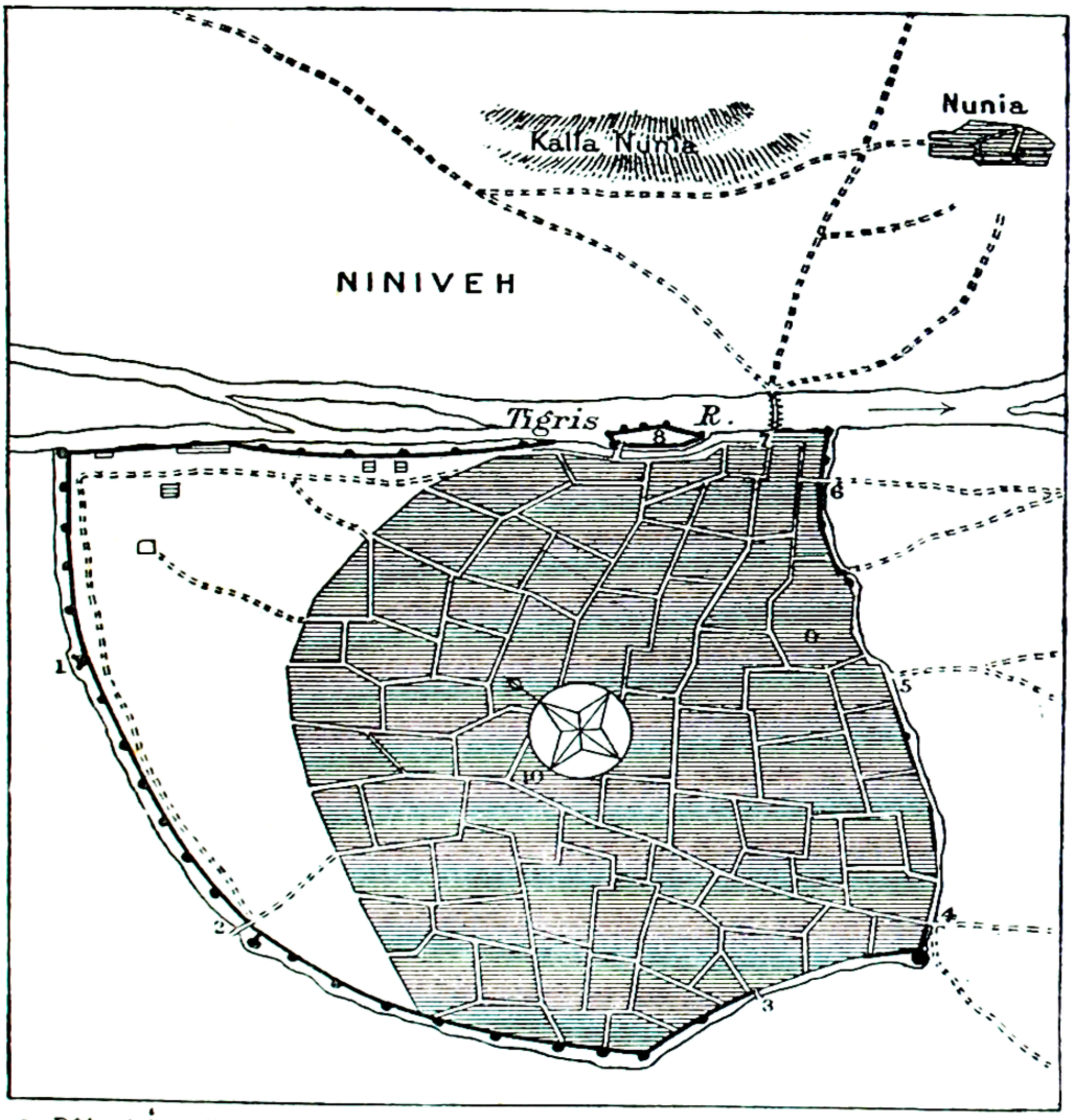
Between 1820 and 1835 Môṣul suffered from a series of calamities, caused by famine, plague and flood. The scarcity of food which afflicted Northern Mesopotamia in 1824 was hardly felt in Môṣul that year, but in 1825 a drought set in which was spoken of with awe and horror in 1889. The wheat crop failed almost entirely, and all the vegetable gardens along the Tigris and about the villages inland produced very little, but a fairly good crop of olives came from the mountain villages in the north, which helped to mitigate the general scarcity of food. In 1826 the heavens became like brass and the earth like burnt brick, and all vegetable life disappeared. The flocks and herds were killed to save them from perishing by hunger, and after their emaciated carcases were eaten the people starved, and famished folk died in the streets and by the way-side, and lay unburied. In 1827 the sufferings of the people of Môṣul became more acute still, and but for the forethought of some of the Christian priests the town would have become depopulated. In the year 1824,

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[1] *Reisebeschreibung*, tome ii, p. 360 (pl. 46).

PLAN OF MÔSUL

by Niebuhr.



1. Bâb el Âmadi
2. Bâb Sindsjar
3. Bâb el Bâd
4. Bâb Edsjedîd
5. Bâb Lidsjisch
6. Bâb Ettôb
7. Bâb Edsjûsser
8. Ytsch Kallá
9. Pâshâ's Palace
10. The Great Mosque

when the wheat crop was superabundant, and one hundred-weight of corn could be bought for about a shilling, these shrewd men had stored very large earthenware pots filled with grain in the chambers under their houses, and then bricked up the entrances to the chambers. When it seemed likely that everyone would perish these men, who, of course, knew something of the history of all former famines in their country, opened their corn chambers, and doled out the grain, I was told,[1] literally by the handful. During the winter of 1827–28 the lions from the thickets west of the Sinjâr hills, the wolves and jackals from all the deserts near Môṣul, and even large birds of prey came to the town in a famished state, and found food in the shape of human corpses. Early in 1828 snow and rain fell, and men's hopes began to revive, but with the spring came the plague, brought, it was said, by a caravan from Aleppo, and of the remnant of the population left by the three years' famine, 20,000 persons died. Hundreds of deaths were due to excess in eating, and the melons, beetroots, egg-plants, and other succulent fruits and vegetables, which the earth brought forth in abundance, produced many fatal diseases in those who over-ate of them. The plague passed on to Baghdâd, and men began to breathe once more, and tried to take up their old life again. But early in 1831 came the heaviest fall of snow that any man remembered, and for weeks Môṣul was isolated. In the mountains the fall was exceptionally heavy, and the stepped paths which led from the plain up to the Monasteries of Mâr Mattai and Rabban Hôrmîzd were blocked so completely by the snow that access to them was impossible. In the middle of February came a sudden thaw, as the result of a week's rain, and all the district about Môṣul and the town itself was flooded. Then the river rose several feet in one night, and swept away the bridge of boats, and destroyed many rafts laden with merchandise. The mound on which Nabi Yûnis is built and the mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ became

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[1] My authority for these facts was Mr. Jeremiah Shamîr, a native of Môṣul.

To face p. 40, vol. ii.



Scene in the bazâr at Môṣul.



Scene in the bazâr at Môṣul.

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islands, and the waters of the Tigris flooded all the lower parts of the town of Môṣul, and filled the *sardâbs*, and even the ditch or moat outside the town walls. For many weeks all travelling in the desert ceased. When the river went down large lagoons, many square miles in extent, were left on both sides of the Tigris, and they caused fevers in abundance all that year. All stores of grain were destroyed, and the stocks of textile fabrics heaped up in the khâns and in the shops in the bazâr were ruined. Many houses and other buildings collapsed as soon as the waters receded, and in this state they were found when Badger[1] visited Môṣul a few years later.

In 1880 there was another famine in Northern Mesopotamia, and its serious effects are well described by Sachau,[2] who was travelling to Môṣul at the time. In Môṣul there was no food to be had in the bazâr, and the men whom he sent to buy food for himself and forage for his beasts returned day after day with empty hands. The distress was relieved in a measure by the British Consuls and American Missionaries, who telegraphed to Europe and America for assistance. And the severity of the famine may be judged by the dispatch of Colonel Miles who, in January, 1880, telegraphed from Môṣul to London, saying, "Extensive relief measures urgently requisite; numbers of deaths; children being sold or abandoned; people flocking in from neighbouring villages, all starving." The American Missionaries sent similar dispatches from Erzerum, Wân, Dîâr Bakr, Urmî, and other places. The response in England and America was prompt, and, thanks to the stream of money which flowed into Turkey in Asia, thousands of lives were saved. In the courtyard of the British Consulate at Môṣul great cauldrons of food were kept boiling over the fire all day for months, and Mrs. Russell, the Consul's wife, distributed food daily to hundreds of starving folk, without the least regard to their nationality and religion. The only passport

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[1] See his account of Môṣul in *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i, p. 62.

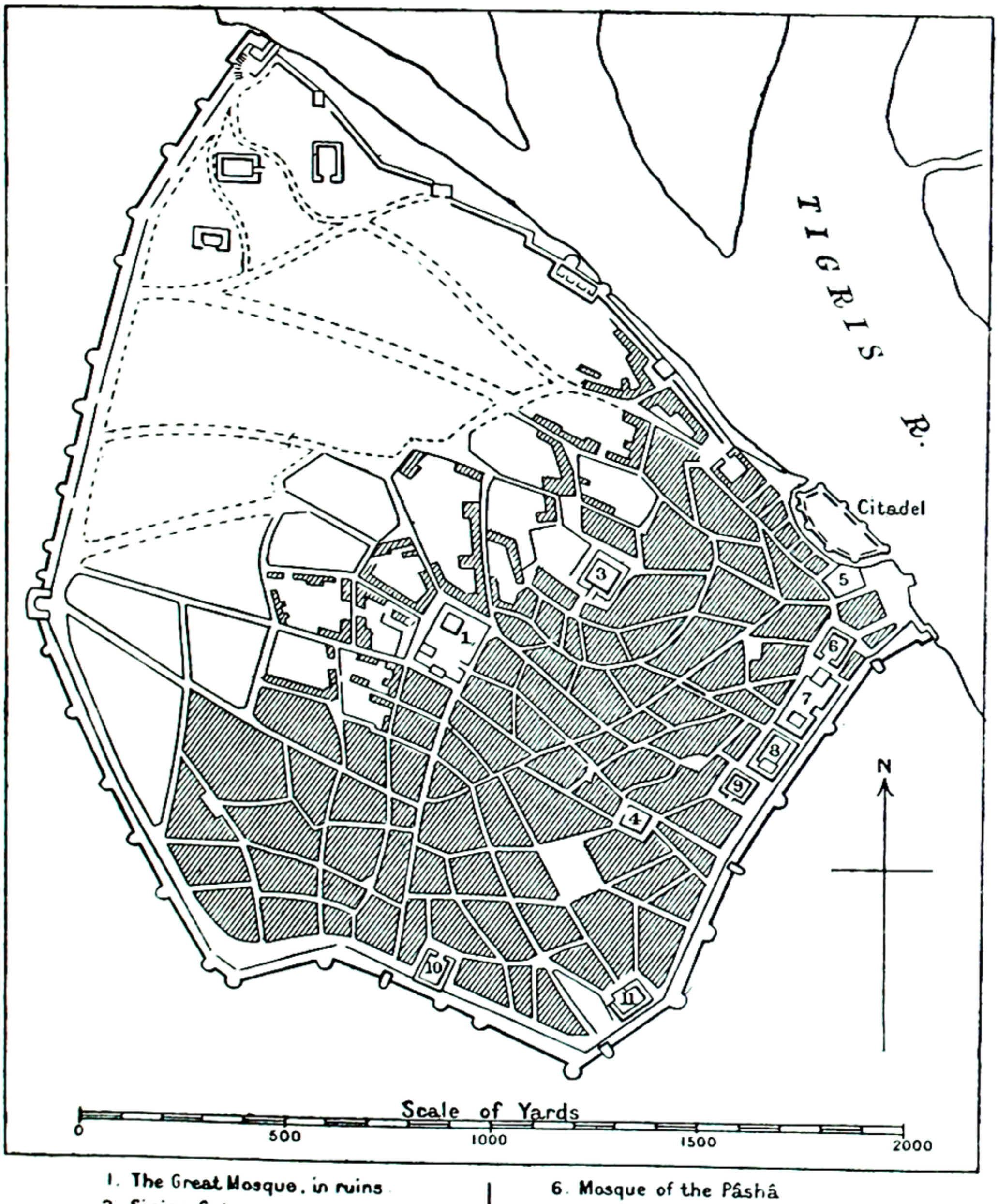
[2] *Reise*, p. 344 f.

needed to enter that courtyard was hunger. The Dominican Fathers did splendid work likewise, and fed hundreds daily, but they only relieved the wants of members of their own communion. It may appear incredible, but at the moment when the sufferings of the people of Môṣul were well-nigh unbearable, the Turkish Government in Stambûl sent an Iradé throughout Mesopotamia reducing the value of the coins in currency. Their argument was that by some oversight the *bashlik*, or five-piastre piece, and the *majîdîyah*, or twenty-piastre piece, contained less silver than the Government had ordered to be put in them, and therefore the *bashlik* was only worth two piastres, and the *majîdîyah* eight piastres. The immediate effect of this wicked order was to add to the distress in Môṣul, and to ruin hundreds of families. At the same time another order was promulgated, which gave the local authorities power to enter houses, and to seize whatever food they found in them, and distribute it among the people. The municipal authorities of Môṣul carried out this order with alacrity, but the immediate searchers for food went round each evening to the houses which they intended to search the following day, and (for a consideration) told their occupants what was going to happen. The result of this was that the houses of the well-to-do yielded nothing, and the poor were robbed of everything they had.

Môṣul is protected by a strongly built brick wall, about three miles in compass, which, when I saw it, was in a comparatively good state of preservation. It was complete, with the exception of a large gap at the south-east corner. The town had nine gates, viz., Sulphur Gate, River Gate, Castle Gate, Bridge Gate, Cannon Gate, Palace Gate, Narrow Gate, Egg Gate, and Sinjâr Gate. The gates of the early mediæval town were fewer in number, and the first Arab town of Môṣul probably had only four gates. The streets are very narrow and ill-paved, and are dirty even in dry weather; but after heavy rain or snow their condition is indescribable. The houses are sometimes built of a pretty, greyish alabaster, which is brought from quarries at no great distance from the town. This stone

PLAN OF MÔSUL.

by Felix Jones.



1. The Great Mosque, in ruins
2. Sinjar Gate
3. Nissaniyeh Mosque?
4. Tomb of Ibn al-Hasan
5. Mosque of the Bridge
6. Mosque of the Pâshâ
7. Sarâyah (Government Offices)
8. Police Offices
9. Mosque of Husên Pâshâ
10. " " the White Gate
11. Mosque of the New Gate

is very soft, and is easily worked at all times, but when it comes fresh from the quarry it can be cut easily with the large blade of a clasp knife. Lintels, doorposts, and even doors are made of it, the walls of rooms are lined with it, and the courtyards of houses are paved with it. Most of the houses have flat roofs, surrounded by low parapets, and these form useful promenades during the winter, and afford excellent sleeping accommodation during the summer. The courtyards are pleasant to sit in when the weather is warm, but at every other time they are chilly and damp. During the heat of summer the natives occupy the spacious underground chambers (*sardâbs*), which are built specially for this purpose, but foreigners usually find occupation of them followed by attacks of fever.

The bazâr is a comparatively lofty building, and much business is done there, but there was little in it to interest the traveller who had seen the bazârs of Stambûl, Cairo, and Baghdâd. I could find no "antica" shops, and the merchants who dealt in textiles had little to show except Manchester goods and modern fabrics from Aleppo. I asked in vain for specimens of the "muslin" which derived its name from that of the town of Môṣul, and was famous all over the East for its delicate colouring and fineness, but all I was shown was made in England, and was folded round English boards, and wrapped up in English paper, stamped with the names of well-known English manufacturers. In one shop I saw a few old Italian medicine jars bearing Latin names of drugs, and a heavy brass pestle and mortar, which had belonged to an old Italian doctor, who came from Jazîrat ibn 'Omar, and was said to have been very clever. The display of vegetables on market-days was very fine, but prices seemed to me to be high. No cigarettes were to be found in the town, and the only tobacco purchasable was *tütün*, which was grown in the Kurdish mountains. It was sold in large leaves, which the purchaser broke up and rubbed down in his hands, and smoked in a little bit of coarse paper loosely rolled up. This odd form of cigarette was pointed at one end, and large at the other,

and it frequently unrolled itself and let the burning contents fall all over the smoker. The dogs of Môṣul were legion, and there must have been many score in the bazâr alone; some were fierce and pugnacious, and these seemed to be descended from Kurdish and other mountain varieties.[1]

There are many mosques and prayer-houses in the town, but none seemed to me to be of interest architecturally. The most striking features of the mosques are the minarets, which, when seen from a distance, give a very picturesque appearance to the town. Most of them, however, do not stand straight, and the tower of the Great Mosque, which is commonly called "Al-Ḥadbâ," *i.e.*, the "crooked," has a distinct bulge in it. Some of the minarets and domes were formerly ornamented with coloured glazed tiles, arranged in striking patterns, and others with stone mosaics, but little more than fragments of such decorations remained *in situ* when I saw these buildings. A minaret wholly covered with bright, greenish-blue glazed tiles must have been a very striking object. I saw no evidence of any attempt made to keep the Muslim buildings in repair, and I could not discover that there was any fund for the upkeep of their fabrics in existence; the policy seemed to be to let a wall, or a doorway, or a dome go to ruin, and then repair it. The Dominican Fathers possess a fine pile of buildings and do a great work.

Môṣul lies on the west bank of the Tigris exactly opposite that portion of ancient Nineveh which is represented by the great mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ; the space between Ḳuyûnjiḳ and the river is about a mile and a half. The principal means of communication between the town and the east bank is the bridge of boats. These are pointed at each end, and are moored by iron chains

[1] The people of Môṣul curse all dogs except the *selâḳî*, or greyhound, but with the strange inconsistence of the Oriental, many of them, Christians and Muslims alike, buy bread in the bazâr every Friday, and feed the starving dogs on their way out from the town to the cemeteries to visit the tombs of their dead. I found that the men who spent most money in this way were Muslims.

upstream and downstream. Above the boats there is a layer of earth which rests on a layer of branches of trees, and these in turn rest upon a layer of poles, which are sometimes split and sometimes not; these layers form the roadway of the bridge. The boats were old and rickety, and I was not surprised to hear that when the great rise of the river took place about a month later, most of them were smashed. The eastern end of the bridge of boats is moored to the remains of the stone bridge which the Arabs (?) of the Middle Ages built over the Tigris and of which several arches capable of carrying traffic still exist. Round about the arches and beyond them a sort of perpetual fair was held when the river was low, and itinerant merchants of many nationalities pitched their tents there, and did a good trade in eggs, fish, bread, rolls, melons, etc. Acrobats and mountebanks were frequently to be seen there exhibiting their skill to crowds of admiring children, and as their quips and jests were greatly appreciated by the grown-ups for their "broadness" and "topical allusions," their "patter" never lacked ready listeners. When the river was very low some of the arches were used as stables by caravans which did not cross the river, and parts of others were screened off and openly used for immoral purposes, even during the day.

What the population of Môṣul was in 1889 I could never find out. In all attempts to count the people the Oriental always sees attacks of the tax collector, and replies to all questions on the subject accordingly. The population of Môṣul consists of Arabs, Persians, Kurds, Jews and Christians, the last named including Nestorians and Papal Nestorians, Syrians and Papal Syrians, Armenians and Protestants. According to the census of 1849, which is quoted by Badger (i, 82) the population consisted of 3,350 families or houses, of which 2,050 were Muslim, 350 Chaldean (Nestorian), 450 Jacobite, 300 Papal Syrian and 200 Jewish. Sachau (*Reise*, p. 349) says that the population was estimated to be 42,000,[1]

[1] Buckingham estimated it at less than 50,000. (*Travels*, ii, 34.)

but thinks that it was larger. Mr. J. Shamîr spent two days in working out the matter, and was convinced that in February, 1889, there were 63,000 people whose homes were in Môṣul. To describe the tenets and dogmas of the various Christian sects of Môṣul, notwithstanding their surpassing interest and importance historically and socially, does not fall within the scope of this book, and for information about them the reader is referred to the works of Badger,[1] Sandreczski,[2] Fletcher,[3] Parry[4] and others.

The language most commonly spoken in Môṣul was Arabic. A large number of the people of the town spoke "Fallêḥî," *i.e.*, the "peasant" or "farmer" dialect, which contains many old Syriac and Kurdish words. The American Missionaries in Urmî by Lake Wân were the first to print any portion of the Bible in this difficult but most interesting dialect, and copies of the whole Bible in Syriac in which the ancient and modern versions are printed in parallel columns are now very rare and valuable. I found the Fallêḥî weekly journal *Zahrîrê dhĕ Bahrâ*, which was also edited and published by the American Missionaries at Urmî, most useful in any attempt to become acquainted with the local dialect. In the villages to the north and east of Môṣul they speak Kurdish mixed with Persian.

It is perhaps impertinent for any stranger who passes a few weeks or months in an oriental town to criticize its government, but it seemed to me that the municipal administration of Môṣul was as bad as it could be. Formerly, so merchants told me, when Môṣul was governed from Baghdâd there was some stability in town affairs, but since 1878 when Môṣul was taken from the Walâyat or province of Baghdâd and made into a separate Walâyat, everything changed for the worse. The Wâlî Pâshâ, or Governor, was changed

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[1] *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, 2 vols., London, 1852.
[2] *Reise nach Mosul*, 2 vols.
[3] *Notes from Nineveh*, 2 vols., London, 1850.
[4] *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, London, 1895.

frequently, and each new Wâlî made as much money as he could as quickly as possible. Arabs, Kurds, Jews and Christians all agreed in hating their Turkish rulers, who seemed to take no interest in the town. Nothing could be done without *bakhshîsh*, and the man who gave most did as he liked. The Town Council, among whom were many rich Arab merchants, tried to get rid of the Turk and they lost no opportunity of setting the mob against the Pâshâ and his authority. They spent money freely in forwarding their own plans, and it was commonly said that their chief object was to lend money to the Wâlî and so to get him into their power; from all that I heard it seemed that they generally succeeded in doing so. The administration of justice was very lax, and the "professional witness" made a good living, for his fee was increased in proportion to his ignorance of the case in which he undertook to testify. A single case in which I was interested will illustrate this statement. One of the soldiers who had been told off to patrol Ḳuyûnjiḳ daily, while we were digging, was coming to the mound one day when he met an officer. Some words passed between them, and the officer suddenly seized the soldier's carbine, and raising it in the air brought the butt end of it down on his head with a crash; the soldier dropped and never moved again. The same day some of the soldier's relatives came to me and begged me to go to the Wâlî with them and demand justice on the murderer, and as I knew what the exact facts of the case were I did so. The Pâshâ received me with great courtesy, thanked me for my visit, and promised to enquire into the matter. The next day I went again to the Pâshâ to see what had been done, and found that the soldier had been buried the night before. On the following day the Pâshâ sent me a message saying that the officer was to be tried in his court in the Sarâyah, and inviting me to be present, and I went. Many witnesses appeared on behalf of the officer, and in different words they all said the same thing, viz., that it was the private who attacked the officer with his carbine, and that losing his balance he



A Mûṣûlî merchant in the bazâr at Môṣul.

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fell down on it and so inflicted on himself the wound which caused his death. No one believed the statements of these hired witnesses, for when they were cross-examined it appeared that none of them had been present when the soldier was killed. After much talk the Pâshâ called upon an Austrian or Polish military doctor to give evidence, and he said that he had made a post-mortem examination, and had seen on the heart of the deceased a mark which showed that he was fated to die at the very moment in which he died, and that the blow from the carbine, which smashed in his skull, had nothing to do with the cause of his death. And on this evidence the officer was acquitted. As the Pâshâ invited me to his room and gave me the chance of expressing my opinion I did so, and he seemed genuinely surprised and troubled; he assured me that the post-mortem examination had been made expressly at his request, and considered this to prove his sincerity in dealing with the case. When I said that I doubted the doctor's statement and that I did not believe his statement about the mark on the man's heart he said, "Am I Allah to know such things? Allah forbid!" And then adding the fatalistic words, "It was written," he went on to ask if we had found treasure in the mound, and said he was sorry we were leaving Môṣul so soon, for he liked the English. As I was saying "Good-bye" to him he remarked, "No man hath seen the camel or the camel's driver," by which I understood him to mean that he did not wish me to talk about the trial I had seen that day.

Life in Môṣul.

The news of the arrival of the son of the British Ambassador at Constantinople and my humble self spread rapidly through the town, and long before we went to bed on the day of our coming it was freely discussed and commented upon among all classes of the community. As soon as we had taken up our quarters in Nimrûd Rassam's house I sent our two soldiers to the Sarâyah[1] to report themselves to the Military Governor of Môṣul, and bought a sheep and rice and other things in sufficient quantities to enable our muḳêrî and his companions to make a "feast" that evening. They, poor fellows, were as tired as we were, and they were thankful to eat a full meal in safety; and we agreed to feed their beasts for one week, and to pay them half wages until they left Môṣul. They had made up their minds to return to Aleppo viâ Jazîrat ibn 'Omar and Dîâr Bakr, and not to risk a second meeting with the Shammar Arabs. The soldiers having reported themselves to the Military Governor returned to the bazâr, where they established themselves in a café, and spent their evening in describing to a large and ever-changing audience the attack of the Shammar upon our caravan, and the story that became current through them was that we had fought a sort of pitched battle with the Shammar, whom we had put to flight with heavy loss. In proof of their own personal bravery they exhibited their empty bandoliers (I fear they had sold the cartridges *en route*) and dirty carbines, and large rents in their ragged uniform, which they swore by Allah had been caused by the lance thrusts of the Shammar. The wise old Môṣul merchants knew how to discount their stories, but they were sharp enough to see that when two Englishmen were robbed

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[1] Commonly pronounced "Sarây."

as we were robbed, and the whole of a caravan was pillaged as ours was pillaged, the desert infested by the Shammar was not a safe place for ordinary merchant caravans to travel through. The soldiers' tale was in a great measure supported by the narrative of the men who were with our beasts, and by the merchants who had travelled with us from Naṣîbîn, and very harsh things were openly said against the Military Governor of Môṣul and the Wâlî Pâshâ in charge of Môṣul for allowing the Shammar such freedom of action.

When everybody was tired of cursing the Government and the Shammar, they set to work to discuss White and myself in detail. It was generally known that the English were going to reopen the excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and when Nimrûd Rassam told his friends and acquaintances that I had been sent to do the work, they contented themselves with hoping that no harm would come to the town through the digging up of the city of Nineveh, which Allah had overthrown, and considered my presence accounted for. They next considered White and asked Nimrûd and each other what he had come to Môṣul for. Nimrûd himself being filled with curiosity, asked me the question point-blank, and I told him that White's father had sent him with me to see the country and its ancient ruins in which he was much interested. Nimrûd passed this answer on to his friends and co-religionists, but none of them believed it, and they folded their hands one over the other, and their faces took on a look of helpless resignation and pity for the absolute folly of the man who could tell them such a really first-class lie and expect them to believe it. Jews, Arabs, Jacobites, and Nestorians were all convinced that White had come on some political mission, and it was triumphantly pointed out that if the son of the British Ambassador was really travelling to see the country and to enlarge his mind, he would not have journeyed to Môṣul without a large escort of soldiers, and many tents and servants and much baggage. The good people of Môṣul were hopelessly puzzled, but they kept their counsel, and determined to watch our doings,

and to interview us and to try and find out from us personally what White's deep scheme was.

One result of their night's cogitations was evident the morning following the day of our arrival in Môṣul. White and I were both very tired and wanted to sleep, but the next morning a little after seven, visitors began to arrive in order to pay their respects to White and to place their services at his disposal. I asked Nimrûd to give them seats in one of the pleasant balconies of his house, and to serve coffee and stewed fruits, and meanwhile we dressed and made sure of our breakfast, which I cooked over a charcoal fire. The first visitor to be interviewed was the President of the Baladîyah or Town Council of Môṣul, who was a very intelligent and pleasant and courteous Turk of the "old school." With him were two smart Turkish officers who welcomed us in the name of their General, who was a "little sick" that morning and unable to "greet and welcome" us in person. Next to them was an official from the Sarâyah who said that he came to get information as to the extent of our proposed excavations, and who offered to assist us in every way possible. Among the other callers who sat patiently waiting for us were the Nestorian bishop and several other ecclesiastics of various ranks and their friends who had come to see what was to be seen. The President of the Town Council spoke Arabic, and began his conversation, after compliments, with the questions: "Why have you come? And what do you want to do?" He told me that before we began to dig we should have to buy the crops on the mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and offered to supply labour and the necessary plant, and to be present at my interview with the Pâshâ when I went to present my authority to excavate. The officers devoted themselves to White, and as he was able to talk Turkish they got on very well with him, and invited him to their quarters, and promised to accompany him on shooting trips in the mountains near. With the Nestorian bishop Nimrûd and I discussed Syriac manuscripts and possibilities of purchase, and White being bored past endurance with such things

went off with the Turkish officers to see the town. The stream of visitors seemed endless, but when it became known that White had left the house it diminished, and in the early afternoon I thankfully saw our last visitor leave the house.

The following morning I sent a messenger to the Sarâyah to ask if the Pâshâ was disengaged, and received a very polite invitation to come, at once, so Nimrûd and I set out for the Sarâyah. I had arranged with Nimrûd to make him the overseer of the workmen and to pay him a salary, and I was very fortunate in obtaining the services of such a capable and trustworthy man. He spoke Arabic, Turkish, and Fallêḥî equally well, and could read and write all these languages with great facility; and he knew some French. He was a very fine Syriac scholar, and was thoroughly well acquainted with the Nestorian branch of Syriac Literature, but he regarded with contempt the Jacobites, their books and all their works. He was himself a most careful copyist, and wrote a beautiful Nestorian Syriac hand with unusual accuracy. When we arrived at the Sarâyah we found the courtyard filled with an excited crowd of men from the town, and peasant farmers and stockholders, and Nimrûd soon heard that they were there demanding payment from the Government for the robberies of horses, asses, and goods from their caravans by the Shammar. They hailed me as a fellow-sufferer, and in their eagerness to enlist my sympathy and help hustled and crowded Nimrûd and myself very unpleasantly. I had to stand and listen, but as half a dozen shouted at me at a time and dozens of men interrupted with loud remarks and curses on the Government, it was not easy to get at the facts. At last I found out the cause of the violent demonstration which they were making. It seemed that the Shammar had fallen upon a large caravan of 300 baggage camels loaded with valuable merchandise for Môṣul and Persia, and a smaller caravan which consisted entirely of young camels that were being taken eastward for sale in various towns. The Karawan-bâshî, or leader of the caravan, tried to come to terms

with the Shammar, but failed to do so, and a pretty big fight took place in which the Karawan-bâshî and several of his men and three of the Shammar were killed. The Shammar, exasperated at the resistance, seized every bale of the caravan, and all the bags of food, and the string of young camels, and then set to work to strip the men of their clothes and personal belongings. The attack had been carefully planned, for camels belonging to the Shammar appeared as it were from out of the ground, and the men loaded the bales on them, and, taking the young camels which the horsemen had seized, marched off with them. The Shammar horsemen then tied some of their naked captives to their saddles and rode off with them, the wretched men running by their side, leaving a few naked men and the remainder of the camels of the caravan to find their way to Môṣul, a journey of four or five days. Two of the men had died of wounds or from hunger and exposure, and of the 300 camels of the larger caravan only about twenty had straggled into Môṣul the day before, and of these some had since died. It was a terrible story and the facts were indisputable. The men in the courtyard of the Sarâyah wanted me to get White to telegraph to his father, and they urged me to telegraph to Colonel Talbot, who was then relieving Colonel Tweedie, the British Consul-General in Baghdâd, but I told them that I must hear what the Pâshâ had to say, and that he was the person whose duty it was to protect their caravans.

At this moment messengers came to say that the Pâshâ was in his office waiting to receive me, and Nimrûd and I followed them to the upper floor of the Sarâyah. There we found the Pâshâ seated in a large room, and round about him on well-cushioned dîwâns were nearly all the notables of the town. As we entered they all rose and saluted us with the word "Salâm," *i.e.*, "Peace," and they laid their right hands upon their breasts as they did so; they then raised them first to their lips and then to their foreheads, and sat down with great dignity. The Pâshâ gave me a seat by his side and clapped his hands as a signal to his attendants to

bring coffee and cigarettes and pipes. When pipes were going the Pâshâ prefaced his remarks by some kindly words of welcome and thanks to Allah who had delivered us from the Shammar, and a murmur of approval went round the room. He then said that he hoped I would defer the talk which we must have about the excavations until another day, for it was all-important that he should first obtain from me an account of our robbery by the Shammar. I made a sign to Nimrûd to speak, but the Pâshâ told him not to do so, and turning to me said, "No, speak thou," and another murmur of approval went round the room. This little incident showed me plainly how little native Christians were esteemed in Môṣul. As there was no help for it I stood up and in my poor and halting Arabic told him how the Shammar had fallen upon us and robbed us, and how their leader had caused the Sulṭân's *buyûruldî* to be defiled and the way in which this had been done, and how the dwellers in the *chadar* (tents) on the *chôl* (desert) because of their fear of the Shammar would neither give our caravan water nor let us camp near them, and how we had to ride for sixteen hours at a stretch to reach Eski Môṣul. Fortunately it is neither hard to compose plain, simple narrative in Arabic, nor to understand it, and so the Pâshâ and the notables understood me, as was proved by the questions which they afterwards asked me. When the exclamations " dogs," " sons of dogs," " sons of filthy dogs," " misbegotten sons of shameless mothers," " sons of mules and asses," " offspring of Lot," " Allah damn their fathers," " Allah blacken their faces," etc., had died down, the Pâshâ asked me what I was going to do about it, and was I going to demand through the British Ambassador payment from the Government at Stambûl for the things which the Shammar had stolen from us on the Darb as-Sulṭânî or " king's highway." He went on to say that he knew I had already telegraphed our arrival to the British Ambassador, and that as I had said nothing about the Shammar in my telegram, he hoped I would not do so by letter, for he was responsible for the country between Mârdîn and Môṣul, and he did

not wish to lose his *wazîfah* or position. At this point several of the notables interrupted the Pâshâ and said that the matter ought to be reported to the British Ambassador, so that the Porte might be forced to order out a military force against the Shammar, for no caravan was safe from their attacks.

The Pâshâ then turned to me and repeated his question about my making a claim on the Government, and I said no, it would be useless to do so from Môṣul. But, I added, the robbery of caravans is a thing which cannot be hidden, and should be reported to the Government in Stambûl, and I told the Pâshâ that I thought it was his duty to send out soldiers from the garrison at Môṣul and kill some of the Shammar. Then one notable said one thing and another said another, but I was unable to follow all that was said. After much talk the Pâshâ seemed to arrive at a decision, and then he told me that if I would write nothing about the affair to the British Ambassador, he would despatch soldiers against the Shammar immediately, and would himself report the matter to Stambûl when he had killed all the Shammar, and given their flesh to the jackals of the desert. I agreed to this proposition and, having made an appointment with him to discuss the excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ, Nimrûd and I left the Sarâyah.

The same afternoon the bazâr was convulsed with the news that the Pâshâ had ordered 250 horsemen to prepare for an expedition against the Shammar, and the town was filled with soldiers who were pushing about collecting equipment, food, etc. The merchants rejoiced that at last something was to be done, and did all they could to help the soldiers to get ready, and gave them gifts of raisins, tobacco, cooking pots, etc. This went on for several days, and each day we heard that the troops were to set out for Jabal Shammar to-morrow, and each night we heard a new reason for their non-departure. Then we heard that the delay was caused by the lack of horses which were shod, for none of the Government horses had shoes on their feet. It was said that regulation horse-shoes and nails had been sent to Môṣul from

Constantinople, and that they had arrived safely, but had been sold, and so the cavalry horses went without their shoes. The merchants came to the assistance of the Military Governor and supplied not only horse-shoes and nails but men to shoe the horses. Then we heard that the number of soldiers to be sent was reduced, first to 150, then to 100, and eventually only 86 could be equipped at all adequately. On the sixteenth day after the Pâshâ decided to attack the Shammar news ran through the town that the punitive expedition was to start that afternoon, and all Môṣul flocked to the Sinjâr Gate to see it start. The men themselves were fine large men, but their uniform and equipment were very dilapidated. The tunics of many were burst at the shoulders and lacked buttons, all their boots were dirty and most of them needed repair, their bandoliers contained old cartridges, as could be seen by the state of the bullets, the rifles of many were slung at their backs by bits of string, and great was the number of the varieties of their bridles. Each soldier had many small bundles tied to himself and his saddle-bags, and though some were mounted on horses and some on mules and some on asses, each man's load seemed to be the same. As far as I could see no baggage train either preceded or followed them as they rode out of the gate, and I assumed that camels carrying fodder for their beasts and water and rations for the men had started for Jabal Sinjâr earlier in the day. When I looked at the eighty-six men that rode away to the west and compared them in my mind with the Shammar horsemen who had robbed us, I could not but feel sorry for them. But all Môṣul was happy, and seemed to have no doubt that the Turkish soldiers would "eat up" the Shammar, and I drove away gloomy thoughts and hoped that the Shammar would be eaten up.

Five or six days later two horsemen galloped into Môṣul from the west and said that they had seen in the distance the soldiers who had gone out against the Shammar riding towards Môṣul, together with a large body of Shammar Arabs. This news created great

excitement in the town, and people began to drift to the Sinjâr Gate and out into the country beyond, and waited to welcome the victorious soldiers, for it was generally assumed that the Shammar who were with them must be their prisoners. In the early afternoon we saw a great cloud of dust rising on the western horizon, and an hour later we saw the soldiers returning, and the report of the horsemen who arrived earlier in the day was quite true, there *were* Shammar with them. We watched the two companies of men draw nearer and nearer, but when they came quite close we saw that the Shammar were holding their long lances in their hands and had their "gas pipe" guns slung at their backs, and that they certainly had not the appearance of men who were prisoners. When they were about a mile from the walls of the town the soldiers and the Shammar halted, and the officer commanding the Turkish force and the chief of the Shammar rode towards each other and held a short conversation. The men of Môṣul stood silent and wondered what was going to happen next. Suddenly the officer raised his sword in the air, and the Shammar chief having poised his lance as if for attack, wheeled his horse round quickly and galloped off to the west followed by all his company. The Turkish officer gave a word of command, and his men resumed their march and rode quietly behind him into Môṣul. Then we all realized that the Shammar chief and his men were not prisoners of the Turks at all, and that they feared the garrison of Môṣul so little that they dared to ride up to within a mile of the town walls, and to take a ceremonious farewell of the officer and his men whom they had escorted to the town in order to protect them from the attacks of roving bodies of their own tribe! Such was indeed the case. Little by little the facts became known, and they were as follows:

The Turkish officer went a day and a half's ride due west of Môṣul, and imagined that he would reach Jabal Shammar on the second day; he had neither map nor guide to help him to find the way there. He pitched his camp in the open Chôl, for there was no shelter to be had,

and then his men discovered that no fodder had been provided for their beasts, and no rations for themselves, and no water for men or animals. Most of the soldiers had brought raisins, or dates, or bread cakes baked very hard, and these served as substitutes for the official rations. There was no water near their camp, so the men scattered and searched for pools of rain water, several of which they managed to find, and when they had drunk themselves they brought their animals to drink. Whilst they were in this state of disorder a large body of Shammar Arabs found them, but they did not attack the soldiers, knowing that each of them had his rifle and cartridges with him. On the other hand, the Turkish officer was far from anxious to fight the Shammar, whose skill in the deadly use of their lances was well known. Moreover, the soldiers having been brought so far away without rations were sullen and discontented, and the officer felt that he could not depend upon their loyalty. Whilst the officer and the Shammar chief were discussing matters and smoking, another party of Shammar arrived driving before them a considerable number of sheep which they had that day seized as they were on their way to Syria. The soldiers and the new-comers very soon made friends, and sheep were killed and boiled by the latter, and the Shammar and the soldiers all feasted together that night. What arrangement the officer made with the Shammar chief we did not hear, but it was certain that the soldiers were the guests of the Shammar the whole of the following day, and that the officer was glad to have this escort back to Môṣul. Comment in the bazâr was very bitter for several days, and the indignation of the townsfolk was very great, but the explanation of the matter soon leaked out, and men's bitter anger was changed to bitter laughter. It was openly said that the Pâshâ knew quite well that he could muster no force sufficiently strong to beat the Shammar, so he decided to do what the Government had done in the case of the Hamawand Kurds, who lived near Karkûk, and pillaged the caravans passing between Môṣul and Baghdâd, that was, to bribe

them.[1] He sent out a considerable sum of money to the Shammar chief, and when the officer paid it over to him he, according to Turkish custom, demanded a present (*bakhshîsh*) for himself. Thereupon the Shammar chief gave him seventy of the sheep which his kinsmen had that day stolen from passing flocks, and promised to deliver them to him in Môṣul. He kept his word, and a few days after the soldiers returned, some of the Shammar drove the sheep into the town, and by enquiring in the bazâr where they should take the officer's *bakhshîsh*, supplied the clue which enabled people to understand the nature of his interview with the Shammar chief.

White and I continued to live in Nimrûd Rassam's house for three or four days, but we found that it was absolutely necessary to establish ourselves elsewhere, for we could get neither privacy nor rest under his hospitable roof. Visitors came all day long and would not be denied. If we were eating they would come in and wait and watch us eat, if we were sleeping they would wait until we woke up, and if we were talking business they would sit down in a free and easy way and take part in the conversation, and discuss the points which we were considering, and then give us their advice freely and readily. After inspecting many houses we found a vacant outer court of a large house in which two or three families lived. It seemed to have been specially prepared for us. The outer court was separated from the inner by a high wall in which was a large door, usually locked, and on the right of the door was a square opening with a sliding panel that was worked in the inner court. Entrance into the outer court from the street was obtained through a door facing this wall. On the ground floor, on the other two sides of the court,

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[1] When these Kurds rebelled against the Turkish Government in 1879, the Pâshâ of Baghdâd sent out a strong force of cavalry, infantry, and artillery to crush them. A battle took place in the plain near Karkûk, and the Kurds routed the Turks with great slaughter, and captured all the guns; the Turks who escaped fled to Baghdâd. A few months later the Pâshâ of Baghdâd bought back the guns from the Kurds, and bribed them heavily to let caravans alone.

were several small, badly-lighted rooms, and a couple of good stables, and above the small rooms on one side were two other small rooms, one on each side of the top of a flight of breakneck stone steps. We had no difficulty in renting all this for a sum in piastres equal to five shillings per week, and we entered into possession. We had all the rooms and stables cleared out, the walls and ceilings whitewashed, and the stone floors well scrubbed, and then we tried to turn out of the court what seemed to be the accumulations of many years. As fast as we cleared one part of it another part seemed to get filled up, and at length we found that the families living in the inner court used to open the door between the courts at night and shoot out rubbish and offal for us to clear away the next day. We nailed up that door with four-inch French nails and had no further trouble.

As soon as we removed our belongings into our rooms the weather became very cold and snow fell heavily. We devoted our attention to making a fireplace in each of our rooms, but as soon as the mason began to cut through the walls to make a chimney we got into trouble with the owner of the house, who set the municipal authorities in motion against us. I interviewed an official to whom I tried to explain matters, and his reply was, "If you must have a wood fire, light it on the floor in the middle of the room, and let the smoke go out of the window. Allah is great, but what can you want with a chimney?" Fortunately everything could be "arranged" in Môṣul, and in the end we made our chimney. In a very few days we picked up in the bazâr reed mats for the floor, cooking pots, etc., and were glad to live in a place where we could bar the front door and keep out curious and prying visitors. Our household consisted of one Ḥannâ, a cook, who had lived with Europeans in Môṣul and understood their dislike for Oriental dishes swimming in hot fat; a Kurdish groom for our horses and donkeys which occupied the stables, and two or three nephews of Ḥannâ who made themselves generally useful and came with us on our daily visits to the excavations in the mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ.

Soon after we had set up house we found that chickens belonging to our neighbours, the families in the inner court, flew over into our court and settled there and lived on the grain which they found in the stables. Then several cats arrived, and whenever the door into the street was left open the dogs of the town came in and fought with the cats, and stole our meat and anything else they could find. Sometimes they hunted the chickens round the court and often killed one, and claims for payment were made upon us ; we never paid and so were greatly disliked by our neighbours.

The beggars who thronged to our house were a great nuisance, chiefly because I did not like to send them away hungry. When the Pâshâ who had lived in the house was alive, every hungry person who came that way went into the inner court and knocked at the panel in the opening by the door in the wall already mentioned, and stood there and cried out, "Ya Allah al-Karîm" (O Allah the Gracious !). The panel was withdrawn and some food was handed out to the beggar who then left the court ; it was the Pâshâ's order that no beggar should be allowed to go empty away. When the beggars found out that we were living in the court they came in whenever the door was open, and stood under our windows and cried, "Ya Allah al-Karîm." All of them were very, very poor, and some of them were blind, and some had loathsome sores on them, and some had horrible deformities. White and I felt that though we could not afford to copy the dead Pâshâ and give to everybody at all times we must do something for the beggars, and I consulted a native of whom I shall have more to say presently, Jeremiah Shamîr. His advice was to buy, or have made daily, a number of flat bread-cakes each weighing about four ounces, and to distribute them once a day. We therefore arranged for a hundred bread-cakes to be supplied to us daily and White and I shared the cost. These were delivered to our Ḥannâ, who seemed to know every beggar of Môṣul, and he gave them away at his discretion every morning whilst we were at breakfast. The beggars soon realized that there was

nothing more to be got from us after breakfast-time, and left us in peace for the rest of the day. Nimrûd, who was a rigid "dry"[1] Nestorian, and a fervent hater of the Muslims, was horrified at our weakness, but the "waste" (as he called it) earned us the good-will of the Muslims, as they are extraordinarily generous to the poor.

In spite of all our attempts to keep our court to ourselves it was impossible to do so. One morning I went into the stable and found there a horse which did not belong to us. When I asked our Kurd, whom we called "'Askar," *i.e.*, "the soldier," to whom the horse belonged, he said that it was the property of a poor man, and that it had always lived in the stable in the days when the Pâshâ was alive, and that it was too old to be out in the open at nights during the winter. I spoke to the owner of the horse and asked him why he had not asked our permission for the horse to stay there before he brought it into the stable. He replied, "Pâshâ, I saw you buying bread to feed the starving dogs in the bazâr last Friday, as the Muslims do, and I said, 'These Englishmen and the Muslims are all one, and they have hearts of gold. But the Muslims esteem horses more than dogs, and these Englishmen will do the same, and they will let my horse go back to his stable as in the days of the old Pâshâ, and God shall prolong their lives.'" There was no more to be said, and the horse stayed in the stable and we fed him from that time till the end of the period for which we hired the court.

One day 'Askar was followed into our court by a large dog with short and thick black hair, and quite unlike any of the other dogs which were to be seen in hundreds in the town. The creature was in a very emaciated condition, but he did not cringe like the other dogs of Môṣul, and having looked steadily at White and myself he walked to the door of the stable, and having dragged

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[1] The epithet "wet" was applied to that section of the Nestorians who received a subsidy from Rome; "dry" Nestorians were those who did not.

out some old bedding walked round and round on it and then settled himself down to sleep. He had a short head, good teeth, and very powerful jaws, and a thick ruff of white hair. We thought he was a former inhabitant of the court, and that he had, like the horse, found his way back to his old home, but no one knew him and no one had seen him before. It was quite evident that he intended to stay with us, and he did, and after a few days' rest and feeding he began to fill out and improve in appearance, and he kept the court clear of town dogs, cats and chickens. We called him "Saba'," *i.e.*, the "lion." He disapproved strongly of the beggars who came each morning for their bread-cakes, and watched all their movements with suspicion. One morning when our water-carriers and several other men were in the court, a beggar-woman, with her face closely covered, came in and pushed her way behind the men to the kitchen door, and Ḥannâ gave her two bread-cakes. To get out of the court she had to pass close to the dog and he growled at her, and the woman began to abuse him in very unwomanly language and shrieked at him, "nijis, nijis," "unclean, unclean." The dog stood up and his hair bristled, but he did not move. The woman turned quickly to get away and the end of her ragged garment flapped in his face. In a moment the dog seized the end in his teeth, and as the woman moved on he pulled backwards. The woman clutched at her garment trying to keep her face hidden, but the dog tugged and backed with the result that bit by bit she was unwound, and in a few seconds her garment left her, and she stood there with nothing on but a rag or two about her. Ḥannâ tried to get her into his kitchen, but she stood there denouncing us all in violent language for several minutes, whilst the dog tore her ragged garment into little bits. One of the men in the court threw his cloak about her, but we did not get rid of her until I sent a man to the bazâr who bought enough stuff to make her a new garment. She forgave us and paid us many visits, for Ḥannâ's bread-cakes were much appreciated, but whether the dog was in the

court or not she always bestowed many curses upon him.

As soon as we were settled down in our new quarters I devoted myself to the work of the excavations and the search for Syriac and Arabic manuscripts. I visited the Pâshâ as arranged on the day following that on which he decided to send out soldiers against the Shammar, and presented my official papers for his inspection. His secretary read my permit, and then fetched a copy of the instructions which he had received from Stambûl. He was ordered to permit the excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ which were to be conducted under the supervision of the Delegate who had been sent from Stambûl for the purpose, and he was specially instructed to have delivered to him every object of antiquity which might be found during the work. I explained to him that Ḥamdî Bey had told me that I might take away "pottery" fragments, *i.e.*, fragments of inscribed tablets, but he said there was no mention of this arrangement in his instructions. He dismissed the secretary and then told me that the owners of growing crops on the mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ must be indemnified, and that arrangements must be made for pasturage of the sheep which usually grazed on the mound. Besides this, he said that as all the work on the mound had to be done under the supervision of the Delegate, I must not begin to excavate until the Delegate arrived. When I objected strongly to this view of the case he begged me to be patient and to listen to what he had to say. The gist of his remarks was that I was to consider him my *wakîl*, or deputy, and he would arrange with the owners of the crops and the men who had the right of pasture on the mound, and that when he had fixed the sum to be paid to them he would send me word. Meanwhile, as I had honoured Môṣul by coming there, and he had not forgotten the matter of the Shammar, he would permit me on his own responsibility to begin to dig at once. He suggested that I should deposit a certain sum of money with him for preliminary expenses, and I did so, and although His Excellency forgot to pay for the crops and for the hire of

new grazing ground for the sheep, the money I gave him was well invested, for he caused me no further trouble.

The minor official formalities having been complied with, Nimrûd and I rode over to Ḳuyûnjiḳ[1] to look at the mound, and to settle upon a plan of work. We walked up the mound at the south-west corner and followed the ruins of the western wall of Nineveh as far as the ruins of the buildings at the north-west corner, and then having turned a little to the east we made our way back over the heaps of rubbish which had been thrown up by the early excavators. Nimrûd showed me the places where, as he had been told, Botta and Layard had made excavations, and a number of depressions in the ground which represented the "trial shafts" they had sunk, and the trenches they had dug with the view of locating large monuments. It seemed to me that they had been guided to the places which they dug out, entirely by the natives, who had searched through many parts of the mound in order to find limestone bas-reliefs, statues, etc., to break up and burn into lime for building purposes. In fact, as the searchers for bricks from Ḥillah were the true discoverers of the ruins of Babylon, so the natives who lived near Ḳuyûnjiḳ and searched the mound for limestone slabs were the true discoverers of the ruins of Nineveh. I could not ascertain that either Botta (1842) or Layard (1844, 1849 and 1850) had dug out any building or any part of the mound completely. On the other hand, the excavations made at Ḳuyûnjiḳ by Loftus and Rassam between 1852 and 1854 under the direction of Rawlinson, were carried out systematically, and the result was the splendid discovery of the mass of inscribed tablets which are now known to have formed the library of Ashur-bâni-pal. Of the excavations made by Smith in the years 1874–76 there were many traces. His object was to find inscribed tablets and fragments, and

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[1] The natives pronounce the name thus. I have seen the name written قوينجق *Ḳuyunjiḳ*, قيونجق *Ḳuyûnjiḳ*, and قويونجق *Ḳûyûnjiḳ*. An old name of the mound is 'Armûshîyah عرموشية, and there was a village of this name on the mound in 1889.

he wisely contented himself with digging through parts of the mound adjacent to the spot where Rassam made his great "find" in 1854. In the course of Smith's three seasons' work he recovered over three thousand tablets and fragments, a result which in my opinion justifies his course of action. I did not find that he attempted to search the large heaps of débris which Rassam had thrown up, and which in many cases had been piled up on parts of the mound which had not been excavated at all. In this he followed the example of Rassam, who did not search the débris of the palace of Ashur-bâni-pal which Layard discovered in 1849 and 1850. In the course of conversation with Ad-Da'im, the Trustees' watchman of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, I learned that after heavy rains a number of tablet fragments were frequently found by him on the heaps of débris, and this suggested to me that the best thing for me to do was to dig through these heaps carefully before attempting to break new ground. It was not very ambitious work, but there was no other way of finding out if these heaps contained fragments of tablets, and I determined to do it. I could not attempt an examination of the entire mound; this work would take a very considerable amount of time to perform, for, according to Felix Jones, who surveyed the ruins in 1852, the mound contained 14,500,000 tons of earth and covered one hundred acres.[1] I spent two days in going over the mound, and then we began work.

We began with fifty men and gradually increased the number to two hundred. First of all we practically put through a sieve the contents of all the chambers at the south-west corner of the mound, and were rewarded by finding about thirty fragments of tablets and a complete Assyrian letter side by side with two inlaid silver bracelets of the Sassanian period.[2] A great many of these chambers contained the lower portions of the limestone bas-reliefs which had lined the walls and had

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[1] *Jnl. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xv, p. 326.

[2] See *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, p. 223 (Nos. 220, 221).

been destroyed by fire. Though the people of Môṣul had been accustomed to see excavations carried on at Ḳuyûnjiḳ for fifty years, and must have known that the mound had never yielded gold or precious stones, crowds visited the chambers where we were digging expecting to see undreamed of treasures brought to light. It had been rumoured in the town that I could read *mismâri* (*i.e.*, cuneiform) writing, and the people were convinced that I had obtained information as to the exact spot where the ancient Assyrians had buried their gold and silver. Pending the arrival of the Delegate two officials had been deputed to watch us digging so that they might be on the spot ready to claim all treasure for the Government, and they found their task very dull. Three days after we began to dig one of them caught a chill, which developed into pneumonia, and he died, and soon after this his companion was withdrawn and we were left unwatched until the Delegate arrived. Meanwhile, in spite of bitterly cold winds, and rain and snow, we continued to dig through the débris, and each day produced a "find" in the shape of a tablet or fragment. Nimrûd and I shared the work of watching on alternate days, but it was cold and dreary work.

One evening in the second week of February as we were riding through the bazâr we noticed signs of excitement, and presently we were told that a high official from Stambûl had arrived and was asking for me. The official very soon found me, and he turned out to be the Delegate who had been sent by the Ministry of Public Instruction at Stambûl to watch our excavations. He expected me to lodge him in our court, but there was no room for him, and he had to go to one of the Khâns in the town. Before I left him that afternoon I gave him a good meal in the bazâr, for he was in a most pitiable condition, and he told me the story of his journey. It is necessary to state here the terms on which he undertook the duties of Delegate. The Turkish regulations laid it down that the excavator was to pay the Delegate deputed to serve with him £T20 per month

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A takhtarawân.

from the day he left Stambûl to the day he returned, and all the expenses he incurred in going to the site to be excavated and in returning. Acting under competent advice I had deposited with the authorities in Stambûl, before I left, the sum of £T60, *i.e.*, £T20 for the Delegate's first month's salary, and £T40 for travelling expenses, including the hire of horses. According to the Delegate he only received a small portion of the £T60, and he had to set out on his journey insufficiently equipped as regards clothing, and with insufficient money. He travelled to Môṣul by way of Dîâr Bakr and Jazîrat ibn 'Omar, and as he could not ride even a donkey he hired somewhere a *takhtarawân*, *i.e.*, a sort of litter swung between two long poles which were carried by two animals (mules, horses or even camels), one supporting the fore-ends of the poles and one the hind ends. Near Dîâr Bakr he encountered snowy weather, and the roads were very bad, and every conceivable accident seemed to have happened to himself and his men. His horses fell down and broke one of the poles, the glass windows of the box in which he was carried got smashed, and the rain and snow drenched him to the skin. At one place he was, he said, robbed, and at another when he could not pay for his food the Khânjî or Khân-keeper beat him. For several days he had lived at the expense of his muleteers, promising that I would pay them when they reached Môṣul. He was greatly exhausted by his journey, and as soon as I had got rid of his muleteers, who utterly refused to leave him until they were paid, we saw him to his Khân and left him. He was a man of small stature and physically unfitted for any kind of hardship, and as soon as he found that the comforts which he had enjoyed in Stambûl could not be obtained in Môṣul he wished to leave the town as soon as possible. He spoke German fluently and had, I was told, a good knowledge of Turkish. When he had recovered somewhat from the fatigue of his journey he came out with us to the mound, but the place had no attractions for him, and the bitter wind soon drove him back to Môṣul. He went to see the

Pâshâ two or three times, but what arrangement he made with him I do not know; he rarely visited the excavations and the Pâshâ sent no one in his place. I took care that he was properly fed, and deducted what I paid for his food from his salary.

Meanwhile, in the course of work, I became acquainted with many people in Môṣul, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Muslims, and nearly all of them were ready to help me in every way. There were no English there, and only three people besides White and myself who could speak English, namely, Mr. Ainslie, the American Missionary and his wife and Mr. Jeremiah Shamîr. The Ainslies had recently come to Môṣul and found their task very uphill work, for the simplicity of the American services repelled those who loved churches with richly-furnished altars, high ritual and ceremonies, incense, and richly-clad priests. Mr. Ainslie was a simple earnest man, and was much liked by all who came in contact with him for his straightforward and honest dealing. An incident in connection with him may be noted here. He and I were walking to Ḳuyûnjiḳ one day to look at the work, and as we passed over the stone bridge which spans the Khusur, near the south-west corner of the mound, we saw a man fishing. Mr. Ainslie called out to him and asked what he had caught, and the man answered, "I have cast my net a hundred times, but Allah has given me no fish." Mr. Ainslie said, "Cast your net now, what are a hundred casts compared with the goodness of Allah?" And the man replied, "I will cast my net in thy name," and muttering "Anslî, Anslî, Anslî," as a spell he cast his net. As we were leaving the bridge we heard him shout "Samak, Samak," "a fish, a fish," and turning round we saw him pulling out his little net with a large fish in it!

Mr. Jeremiah Shamîr was a little active old man, with dark eyes deeply set in a little wizened face; he was very shrewd and intelligent, not to say cunning, and by some means or other he managed to know everybody's business. He spoke English clearly but slowly,

and at one time in his life he had been employed in the British Consulate at Môṣul. He talked Arabic, Turkish, and the local Syriac dialect Fallêḥi, and he had some knowledge of Persian. He kept a small school, but depended for his living upon a small business as a dealer in books and manuscripts. He had been employed by Sachau to collect Syriac manuscripts for the Royal Library at Berlin, but being dissatisfied with his treatment by the Germans he transferred his services to me. Through him I obtained several manuscripts and a copy of the great Syriac Bible which the American Missionaries printed at Urmî with the old Peshîṭṭâ version and the Fallêḥi translation arranged in parallel columns. He knew the owners of many valuable manuscripts in Môṣul, and through him I was enabled to examine many works which I had only known by name through the Catalogue of 'Abhd-Îshô'. But he rarely succeeded in arranging the purchase of a really good manuscript, for the Jacobites disliked him because he was originally a Nestorian, and the Nestorians distrusted him because he had become a Protestant, and because he was supposed to be a member of the congregation of the American Mission. He had travelled extensively in many countries and knew Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia and Kurdistân thoroughly, and, judging by his conversations and the contents of many letters which I received from him, I came to the conclusion that he was a Freethinker. He knew a great deal about the Yazîdis and their beliefs, and I obtained from him a stout octavo manuscript written in Arabic, containing the fullest history I had ever seen of this interesting people. I suspected that whatever religious sympathies he possessed inclined to the Yazîdis, for the manuscript was the only one in which I ever knew him to take personal interest. Usually books and manuscripts were regarded by him as things to buy in order to sell them again at a profit as quickly as possible.

Speaking generally, I found the Nestorians far readier to help me to acquire manuscripts than the Jacobites,

and the Nestorian bishop Mâr Mîlôs[1] was very helpful to me in this respect. He was a man of great learning, and possessed several ancient manuscripts and a large number of copies of rare works which he had made with his own hand. Like the Jacobites he refused absolutely to sell his ancient manuscripts, but unlike them he was quite willing to allow competent scribes chosen by him to make copies of them for libraries or even private scholars. Indeed, he was most anxious to have copies of valuable manuscripts multiplied, first, because by means of them the interest in Syriac Literature would be increased, and secondly, because the making of such copies would provide remunerative occupation for scribes who needed practice in their craft to maintain their skill and ability. He gave me introductions to members of his community at Tall Ḳêf, a large village lying a few miles north of Môṣul, with a good church served by many priests, and I rode out there one afternoon to deliver them. I was warmly received by the priests and elders of the village, and over coffee and cigarettes we discussed manuscripts and the possibility of obtaining old manuscripts or copies of them. During my visit they took me to the house of a good scribe, and I was fortunate enough to find him actually engaged in copying a work of Bar Hebraeus. I greatly admired the ease and quickness with which he made his bold, well-formed letters, and the unerring way in which he added the vowel points and the other diacritical marks. In answer to my questions he told me that he bought his paper from the grocers in the bazâr who used it for wrapping up sugar. It was a good, stout, rag-made paper manufactured in Russia, very rough on both sides, and in size small folio. Before use each sheet was laid upon a smooth board and well rubbed and rolled with a large round bottle, like a whisky bottle, and under this treatment the paper became so beautifully smooth and shiny that the reed pen rarely spluttered.

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[1] The "Mâr Elijah Millus," Bishop of Malabar, whose history is given by H. Rassam in *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 161 ff.

The scribe took a sheet of the paper and ruled dry lines on it with a metal stilus to mark the margins and the number of lines in the column of text to be written upon it, and having rubbed it with his bottle he sat down and wrote whilst we looked on. He wrote a few lines in the usual way from right to left, and then he turned his sheet of paper half round so that the lines already written became perpendicular instead of horizontal, and then proceeded to write his text perpendicularly with the greatest ease. He had much to say about the selection of reeds for pens, and he explained how to cut them, and how he made his thick inks, both red and black.

When I returned with the priest to his house we renewed our talk about manuscripts, and I mentioned the names of several works that I wanted to acquire, *e.g.*, the Book of Governors by Thomas of Margâ, 'Ănân-Îshô's recension of the "Paradise" of Palladius, the "Cream of Wisdom" by Bar Hebraeus, and the "Ḥudhrâ" or service-book for the whole year. None of these works was in the British Museum. He told me that friends of his possessed manuscripts of all these works, but that it would be impossible to buy them. With the bishop's help, however, he thought good copies of them might be obtained. He said that if I was prepared to commission a scribe to make copies he would superintend the work, and would for a small payment collate the copies with the old manuscripts. Now, I had no authority to buy modern copies of Syriac or Arabic manuscripts for the British Museum, for the Keeper of Oriental Manuscripts was of opinion that if the owners of ancient manuscripts found purchasers for modern copies they would never offer the originals for sale. But my experience was the exact opposite of this, for I found that many natives were quite satisfied to possess clear and easily legible copies of their ancient manuscripts and to sell the originals at good prices. My instructions, however, were quite definite and I could not go beyond them. As I had no means of communicating quickly with London, and was obliged

under the circumstances to come to a decision, I asked my host to have made at my private expense copies of the Book of Governors by Thomas of Margâ and the History of Alexander the Great, of which works I was then engaged in preparing editions with English translations. This request gave great satisfaction in the village, and the copying began almost at once.

A few days later two of the Dominican Fathers called upon me and very kindly invited me to visit their great establishment and see the printing press which they had set up in connection with their work; I did so, and under their guidance spent a very pleasant and instructive afternoon. They showed me their composing room and the presses on which the sheets of their works were printed, and I saw some of the Fathers engaged in teaching young natives how to set up type and how to read and correct proofs, and some of them were inking the formes and working the great press. The Fathers made the drawings of the letters and cut the matrices and cast the types themselves, and winter and summer they toiled at this laborious work many hours each day. They collated and folded and sewed the sheets and trimmed them ready for binding, and they taped and bound their books with considerable skill all with their own hands. Among the works which have issued from their press are two of the greatest philological value, namely, the "Vocabulaire Chaldéen-Arabe" by the Abbé J. E. Manna (Mossoul, 1900,) and the "Dictionnaire de la langue Chaldéenene" by Monseigneur Thomas Audô, Chaldean Archbishop of Urmîyah (2 vols., Mossoul, 1897). They appear to be little known in Europe.

About the middle of February we had a few very fine days, and I took the opportunity of visiting several ancient sites in the neighbourhood of Môṣul. I had received an invitation to visit the Shêkh of Baibûkh, or Bêbûkh, who told me that he had a large stone altar in his village which had been left there by the French when they excavated the Palace of Sargon, King of Assyria, in 1846–48. Nimrûd and I rode out there one

afternoon, and we found the altar standing close by the threshing-floor of the village. It was of the same size and shape as the stone altar which stands in front of the great stele of Ashur-naṣir-pal in the British Museum, and round the top edge was an inscription in cuneiform stating that it had been dedicated to the god Ashur by Sargon, King of Assyria (B.C. 721–705). The hospitable shêkh insisted that we should stay the night in his house, and we did so. He showed me great civility, and I passed a very pleasant evening in listening to the stories which he told us about the excavation of Dûr Sargîna (Khorsabad), which was carried out by the French when he was a young man. His father had been employed by Botta, the French Consul at Môṣul, and he described how the great bas-reliefs which are now in the Louvre were dragged to the Tigris, and the difficulties that were met with in getting them on to the rafts for transport to Baṣrah. He remembered Rawlinson's visit to Khorsabad, and how he sawed in four pieces each of the colossal winged and human-headed bulls which now stand in the Assyrian Transept in the British Museum (Nos. 810, 840), and had them dragged on sledges to the river. The shêkh insisted on my sleeping in his quarter of the house, and I unrolled my bed and laid it out by the side of the wall opposite the cushions on which he slept. Just before turning in one of his men led in his favourite mare Najimah, and she walked across the room to the space between our beds and then stood still and turned her head to the shêkh who caressed her. This went on for some time, and when at length I asked where she slept, the shêkh replied, "Here, with me," and he went on petting her and talking to her. Then it suddenly came into his mind that as my bed was not more than a couple of feet from her I might not like the prospect of going to sleep so close to her hoofs, and he said, "Fear not, she will stand like the mountain." And she did, and as far as I know stood still the whole night.

The next morning the shêkh took me over to Khorsabad, and I spent a long morning in going over

the site of Botta's excavations. On one side of one of the gates of Sargon's city which faced the east there still stood *in situ* one of the colossal figures, half-animal and half-human which the Assyrian kings set up on each side of their gates to protect their towns and palaces. It was smaller than the examples of such colossi in the Louvre and British Museum, but the animal characteristics were well defined and unusual, and I talked with the shêkh about the possibility of getting saws from the quarries and cutting it in four pieces to remove to London, provided I could make a satisfactory arrangement with Ḥamdî Bey. Its man's face was of a wholly different character from the faces on the other colossi, for it was a strong face with high cheek-bones, and a strong, heavy chin, and it may well have been a portrait of Sargon II. Though out of place somewhat its subsequent fate may be given here. I opened negotiations with Ḥamdî Bey and he was quite willing to surrender the colossal figure for a consideration which was very reasonable. On my return to London I made all arrangements for obtaining the necessary saws and timber for its removal, and labour, and the Shêkh of Baibûkh was ready to give me every assistance. Early in the year 1890 I received the very sad news that the colossal figure had been smashed to pieces by a peasant and his son who lived in a small village called Fadhalîyah, to the east of Khorsabad. It seemed that the elder man (one Muḥammad ibn Kaftân) had had a dream one night in which the Prophet had appeared to him and told him to get up from his bed at once, and to go and smash the idol of the unbelievers and take out the gold which was in its belly. The man got up, called his son, and taking their axes they went and smashed the figure, but they were bitterly disappointed at not finding any gold. I wrote to Ḥamdî Bey and told him about it, and sent on to him the names of the destroyers and the name of their village, and though he caused the Pâshâ of Môṣul to be called upon for an explanation none was forthcoming. Meanwhile the pieces of the figure were carried off by the peasants to burn into lime, and they

rejoiced to have such excellent limestone to burn. On our way back to Baibûkh I began to persuade the shêkh to let me take the altar of Sargon to Môṣul to prevent it from being smashed and burnt into lime, but he did not seem willing to do so. A little later in the day he agreed to hand it over to me provided that I would pay men to drag it to Môṣul. This I undertook to do, and a rough sledge was soon made and the altar tied on it, and the gang of powerful men employed by the shêkh worked with such vigour that before night the altar was in Môṣul. I handed it over to the Delegate in order to keep it out of the hands of the local authorities, who promptly tried to take possession of it, and I intended to make an arrangement for its acquisition from Ḥamdî Bey later on.

The day after my return from Baibûkh a native who farmed a little land between Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nabi Yûnis came and told me that at a certain spot in one of his fields there was a large flat stone with figures and writing upon it, and he asked me to buy it from him. Taking a few men with digging tools and baskets Nimrûd and I went with him, and in a short time we uncovered a stele about 40 inches high and nearly 20 inches wide. Having washed the face of it we saw that several figures of gods and divine emblems were sculptured on the upper part of it, and below these were several lines of cuneiform text, which stated that the stele had been set up by Sennacherib (B.C. 705–681). As some of the sculptured figures and emblems resembled those which are seen on Babylonian boundary stones, I concluded that the stele was one of several which marked the boundary of the grounds of the palace which Sennacherib built on the spot now called Nabi Yûnis.[1] We got the stone up out of the hole in the ground and were dragging it away on a sledge, when suddenly a number of men and some of the officials connected with the mosque on the mound of Nabi Yûnis came running towards us,

[1] There is a somewhat similar stele on the wall at the northern end of the Nineveh Gallery in the British Museum. (See the *Guide*, p. 38, No. 44.)

and when they saw the stele they claimed it, saying that it had been found on land belonging to the mosque. I refused to give up the stele, but whilst we were arguing the matter several soldiers appeared and said they were ordered to take it to the Pâshâ's office. They took charge of it at once and had it taken to the Sarâyah, and I went with them to make sure that the stele did not find its way to Nabi Yûnis. The farmer told me that he had found several such stones and that they had all been broken up and burnt into lime.

The series of visits which I was paying to sites in and about Nineveh was interrupted for more than a week by heavy snowstorms, and it was impossible to travel. The cold was intense, and the town was the most miserable place imaginable. The narrow streets were almost impassable, for they had turned into little canals, and the mixture of half-melted snow and mud in them was frequently more than a foot deep. In many of the houses that I went into, the courtyards were covered with the water which ran in from the streets. Wood was scarce and very dear, and we could only indulge in the luxury of a fire in the evenings. The snowstorms were followed by very fine weather, and I determined to visit Tall Balâwât before the melting of the snow on Jabal Maḳlûb made the region round about impassable. Tall Balâwât is about fifteen miles from Môṣul, on the east bank of the Tigris, and owes its celebrity to the fact that the bronze plates made for the famous Gates of Shalmaneser II were said to have been found there. In the year 1876 natives from the district of Nimrûd brought some portions of these plates to the French Consul at Môṣul, who promptly sent specimens of them to Paris and London for examination by experts. The portions sent to Paris were acquired by the well-known collector Schlumberger. In 1877 Mr. H. Rassam was despatched to Môṣul to reopen the excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and whilst there he acquired the remainder, as it was then believed, of the bronze plates from the Gates of Shalmaneser, and a series of important fragments from smaller gates which had been set up by

his father Ashur-naṣir-pal (B.C. 685–660) in his palace. Besides these bronze plates Mr. H. Rassam brought home a stone altar and a stone coffer containing two large stone tablets[1] which recorded the building of the town of Imgur-Bêl, and the founding of the temple of Makhir; these were also said to have been found at Tall Balâwât. When the bronze plates had been cleaned and examined they were found to be incomplete, and before I left London I was instructed to make careful enquiry among the antiquity dealers of Môṣul and Baghdâd for the missing pieces. The man who brought the bronze plates to the French Consul was well known, but he had no others in his possession, and I could find nothing of the kind in Môṣul. Believing that the plates were found at Tall Balâwât it seemed to me that some of the natives there might still have pieces of them in their possession, and I went there to see if this was the case, and if it would be worth while continuing excavations in the mound.

Nimrûd and I arrived at Tall Balâwât about 1 p.m., and the shêkh showed us great civility. After we had eaten he set out with us to show us the mound, and I went all over it and examined it carefully, and in order to be quite certain that he understood my questions and I his answers I got Nimrûd to act as interpreter. The mound was small, in fact too small, in my opinion, to have contained the ruins of Imgur-Bêl and of the temple of Makhir. There were traces of surface diggings in a few places, but I felt convinced from what I saw that no extensive excavations could ever have been made there because of the shallowness of the mound. The shêkh's answers to my questions were vague as a rule, but he said that nothing of the kind which we described, *i.e.*, the stone coffer and the bronze plates had ever been found there. And in this matter I believe he spoke the truth, and I came to the conclusion that the above-mentioned antiquities had been found

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[1] I published the text of these with a translation in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii, p. 59 ff.

elsewhere. From every point of view it seemed unlikely that Shalmaneser would have set up such a wonderful monument as the "Gates" in an out-of-the-way place like Tall Balâwât, for the natural place for this unrivalled example of bronze work was his palace or some great temple. We know now that the "little gates" were made by Ashur-naṣir-pal, the father of the Shalmaneser who set up the "great gates," and that they had a place in his palace, which as already said would be the natural place for such a work. But the "little gates" were brought home by Mr. H. Rassam, who said they were found with the "great gates," and if this be so both sets of gates were unearthed in the ruins of a palace, in fact in the ruins of Ashur-naṣir-pal's palace. If the two sets of gates were found at Tall Balâwât there must have been a palace at this place,[1] but this is impossible, for there is no room in the mound for a temple still less for a temple and a palace, however small. An explanation of the difficulty is hard to find, but it seems very probable that the natives deceived Mr. H. Rassam and did not tell him where they found the plates which were sent to Paris. Mr. H. Rassam may have obtained from Tall Balâwât the plates and the coffer, etc., which he sent home, but if he did the natives must have taken them there.[2] Personally I believe that both sets of "gates" and the coffer, etc., were found in some part of the ill-defined district now called Nimrûd.

The spell of fine dry weather which we enjoyed was short, and it became warm and rainy. In a very few days we saw the effects of this change on the river, which began to rise rapidly. In a couple of days all the land by the Tigris was flooded, and the market-gardeners began to cry out that they would be ruined. For another two days it seemed as though the flood were subsiding, and then suddenly one afternoon the waters

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[1] See the Preface in L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, London, 1915.

[2] Mr. H. Rassam's own account of the finding of the Gates is given in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii., p. 44 ff.

appeared to leap out of their bed and they spread over the country on both sides of the river for miles. The bridge of boats was "cut" and Môṣul and Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nabi Yûnis were separated by a mighty river with a current that ran at the rate of five miles an hour. The Khusur, which ran by the south-west end of Ḳuyûnjiḳ and had seemed to me a very insignificant stream, became a fine river and rolled grandly into the Tigris. On the third day of the flood the mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ became an island, and our workmen could only get there by boat. The ferrymen did a roaring trade and charged very high prices to take men from Môṣul to the other side. But this was not to be wondered at, for the current carried their boats a long way down the river, and it was very difficult to find any landing-place. Sometimes the clumsy boats were drawn into backwaters, where they grounded, and men and women and sheep had to get out into the water and wade to land. As the hire of the boats would have swallowed up all the wages which we gave our workmen, I agreed to pay for their transport to and from the mound as long as the flood lasted.

The "cutting" of the bridge of boats dislocated the business of Môṣul very considerably, but it removed from that rickety structure a holy man who was a great nuisance to passengers. This "saint" was believed to be a native of Dîâr Bakr and was supposed to possess supernatural powers. He neither walked nor rode to Môṣul, but progressed there by a means much in vogue among the self-torturing fanatics of his class. On setting out from Dîâr Bakr he stood upright and shouted "Hû," *i.e.*, "He," that is to say, Allah. He then laid himself down at full length on the ground in the direction in which he wished to go, and then got up and stood upright on the spot which his head had touched. He then shouted "Hû" again, and laid himself down on the ground in the same direction, and again stood upright on the spot which his head had touched. Each time he stood up he was about six feet nearer the place where he wanted to go, and in this way he journeyed all the way to Môṣul. Whether the road was dry or wet,

dusty or muddy, it made no difference to him, and those who said they knew all about him assured me that when he came to a stream or a river he lay down in it just as if he were on land, and that his peculiar holiness enabled him to float and not get drowned. He was accompanied by several "disciples" who went about each village they came to and told the story of his miraculous powers and, of course, collected a good deal of money, food, etc. They claimed that he could cure every ailment that flesh is heir to by casting out from the sufferers the spirits of evil that caused the sicknesses, and under the influence of persuasion accompanied by gifts they admitted, but reluctantly, that the stories current about him to the effect that he had raised the dead, were quite true. He used to come to the bridge early in the morning and squat on the edge of the wooden roadway on the upstream side and stay there till sunset. He was a tall man with a well-shaped shaven head, small deep-set eyes, a hooked nose, large mobile mouth and a dirty ragged beard; he was naked to the waist, and sat among a heap of filthy verminous rags. The mob gazed at him in wonder and were afraid of him, and gave him gifts of food, and the Mijlis, or Town Council, made no attempt to disturb him. Though he was the direct cause of many of the accidents which took place on the bridge, the police pushed and jostled and beat anybody and everybody except him. At intervals during the day he shouted "Hû" in a mighty voice, which could be heard in the bazâr at Môṣul. His favourite trick was to wait until he saw a lot of sheep crossing the bridge in one direction, and men on horseback or laden camels going in the other, and whilst they were trying to pass each other he would shout "Hû" so violently that horses would bolt, and sheep rush into the river. Even stolid camels have been known to turn round and block the road, thereby increasing the confusion ten-fold. I heard that the faith of the mob in him was greatly shaken when the flood did so much damage, for they expected him to protect them from it. Whether the holy man and his disciples feared their

wrath is not clear, but it was said that he left the town to go to Sâmarrâ, where there was another bridge of boats.

When the flood was at its height we had been digging at Ḳuyûnjiḳ for six weeks, and as the waters on and about the mound interfered with our work I felt that it was time to consider our position carefully. We had dug through many chambers in the south-west palace and had found over three hundred tablets and fragments, among them being several letters; some days we found nothing and on others we found five or six fragments of tablets. It was quite clear to me that all the heaps of débris in the south-west and north palaces ought to be searched carefully with the help of a limited number of men, but it was equally clear that this work could not be properly done in less than two years. I had no authority to remain at Ḳuyûnjiḳ for an indefinite period, and I decided, supposing the Delegate agreed, to let the searching of the mound go on under Nimrûd Rassam's direction, and to return to England and submit a detailed report on the work still to be done on the mound to the Trustees of the British Museum. When I suggested this plan to the Delegate he approved highly of it. I had assumed that he would stay in Môṣul in order to watch Nimrûd, but he refused absolutely to do this. He said that he was ill, and that if he stayed there he would die, and he complained greatly of his treatment by the local authorities. His health, he said, had been permanently injured by his journey from Stambûl to Môṣul in mid-winter, and as he had incurred such suffering solely on behalf of the British Museum he thought the British Government ought to provide for him either by giving him employment or a pension. He agreed to the continuance of the excavations by Nimrûd Rassam, and said he would go to Baghdâd with me and arrange with the authorities there for the export of any antiquities I might wish to send to England. He urged me to get a *kalak* or raft built without delay to take us all to Baghdâd, and he took the greatest interest in its preparation.

In many ways the Delegate was to be pitied. He had never travelled in Asia Minor in the winter before,

and was physically unfitted for rough travel of any kind. He had not been well received at Môṣul, for the Pâshâ and the Town Council did not understand his official status and thought that he had been sent from Stambûl to spy upon them; that he was sent to watch our excavations they did not for one moment believe. The Town Council, many members of which were Arabs and descendants of the Arabs who governed the town in the eighteenth century, naturally hated the Turkish Governor and his officials, and they harassed him in many ways, knowing full well that the Pâshâ would tacitly approve of their attempts to drive him out of the town. Besides this, it must be confessed that just then Môṣul was not a pleasant place to live in. It was the season of boisterous winds which filled the air with the dust from the roofs and waste places in the north of the town and the acrid smoke of scores of limekilns, and with this was mixed lime-dust which was driven over the town from the crushing mills where plaster for building purposes was made. The smells in the town were numerous and powerful at the best of times, but with the coming of the warm weather the reek from the tanneries down by the bridge became more penetrating, and when to this the fumes from the hot sulphur springs to the north of the town were added, the result is easier imagined than described. To add to our discomfort, the hot wind, which the natives call *Sâm*,[1] blew into the town from the western

[1] This is the "Samiel" about which Thévenot (*Suite du Voyage*, ii, p. 102) has so much to say. It is undoubtedly the "poison" wind, as he says. According to him, "Quand une personne a respiré ce vent, elle tombe tout d'un coup morte sur la place, quoy qu'il y en ait quelquefois, qui ont le temps de dire qu'ils brûlent en dedans. D'abord qu'un homme est tombé mort de ce vent, il devient tout noir comme de l'encre, et si on le prend par le bras ou par la jambe, ou en tout autre endroit, sa chaire quitte les os, et reste entre les mains de celuy qui le veut lever." He goes on to say that there is actual fire in the wind, and that "it consists of burning fumes of sulphur, and that the person on whom rays of this fire fall dies, whilst all the other members of the caravan may escape." Whether this be so or not I cannot say, but the desert Arabs go in deadly fear of the Sâm, and my camel guide told me that men who die through this wind look as if they had been lightly roasted at a fire.

desert for two days and covered everything with a thin layer of sand and dust. We therefore hurried on the building of the raft by which we intended to go to Baghdâd, and before the end of the month of February it was finished.

During the last few days of our stay in Môṣul we were visited by many people of the town, both clergy and laity, who came specially to say their adieux to White, of whom they had seen very little. As soon as his leg grew strong he called on the General commanding the Môṣul garrison, and they became great friends. The General introduced him to the officers, who made him an honorary member of their mess, and White spent much time with them and became a general favourite. They arranged small shooting parties, and he went off with them into the Kurdish hills for days at a time, but he was unused to the hard life and the poor and scanty food which they found in the villages in the hill country, and each of his trips was followed by a period of exhaustion and depression. Everyone with a grievance who could get speech with him gave him a written petition and implored him to ask his father to use his influence and interest with the Porte to get his wrong righted, and White took all such documents and promised the petitioners to do his best for them. Some of the more importunate of these men pressed him to take them with him to Constantinople, and when the time came to load up our raft I found that he had promised to give several persons a passage to Baghdâd on it by way of helping them on their way to Europe! Several of the merchants asked me if it would not be possible for him to be made British Consul in Môṣul, but when I mentioned the suggestion to him he said that nothing would ever induce him to return to the town, and he wanted to get away from it as soon as possible. I therefore arranged with Nimrûd Rassam to superintend the excavations, and gathered together the tablets we had found at Ḳuyûnjiḳ and the Syriac and Arabic manuscripts which had begun to come in from various places, and on one of the last days of February we embarked on our raft for Baghdâd.

Môṣul to Baghdâd by Raft.

Merchants who have baggage to transport, and travellers who dislike travelling by land, frequently make use of the *kalak*,[1] كَلَك, or raft, when making a journey from Dîâr Bakr or Jazîrat ibn 'Omar to Môṣul or Baghdâd. The *kalak* is made of poles and planks of wood and inflated goat-skins, and is practically unsinkable; it varies in size from 10 feet to 50 feet square, and the number of goat-skins used for one raft varies from 50 to 1000. Small parties of natives with little baggage often make a journey on a raft 10 feet square. The merchant's raft that is required to carry goods of various kinds measures 30 feet by 20 feet, and the rafts which carry grain down the Zâb and Tigris to Baghdâd are often 40 feet square and more. The frame of the raft is made of poles, the ends of which are lashed together with ropes or bark, and this is strengthened by cross-poles fastened to the frame with strong cords. Underneath the frame and the cross-poles series of goat-skins[2] are tied, the number of skins varying with the size of the raft. A moderate-sized raft requires about 200 skins and an exceptionally large one 700 to 1,000, according to the nature of the load. The raftsman inflates the skins by blowing into them with a reed tube, and when full of air each skin is tied round the neck with a stout cord; and during the inflation water is poured over it frequently to prevent leakage through drying of the skin. When the raft reaches its destination it is pulled to pieces and the poles and planks are sold, but the skins are deflated, dried, and carefully tied up in bundles to be carried on the backs of donkeys

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[1] In Môṣul often pronounced *tcheletch*.

[2] These skins are removed from the bodies of the animals with special care, and the natural openings in the skin have strong leather patches sewn over them.

to the place whence they came for use again. The raft can only move down-stream, and its course is guided by the kalakjî, or raftsman, with long wooden sweeps; it is moored to a stake which he usually carries on the raft, or to a large stone by a rope made of fibre.

When passengers are to be carried the raft is covered over with planks, and on these carpets and beds are spread, generally under the shelter of the bales of goods to keep off the wind. In winter passenger rafts carry on them a sort of wooden shanty in which passengers cook their meals and sleep, and when a carpet is hung over the opening this little building affords shelter not to be despised. When the river is in flood the journey to Baghdâd, not including stoppages, occupies three or four days; when the river is low anything from eight to twelve days. The raft which I had made under the kalakjî's direction measured 30 feet by 20 feet, and the skins were about 350 in number. We had to use plenty of skins, for the raft had to carry the altar of Sargon II, the boundary-stele of Sennacherib, and a lot of inscribed bricks and pieces of sculpture from Ḳuyûnjiḳ which the Delegate insisted on taking back with him to Stambûl in order to impress the authorities with his zeal and diligence. Besides these things we had to carry a number of packages of all sorts and kinds for people in Môṣul who had been helpful to White and myself, and who took the opportunity of sending their things to Baghdâd by what they called "safe hands." We also agreed to give "privileged passages" to three specially recommended young natives who were going to study in the schools of the Dominican Fathers in Baghdâd, and the kalakjî said he must take his nephew with him to help him to guide the raft. The Wâlî took a personal interest in our journey, and insisted on sending a soldier with us to protect the raft and ourselves. The Delegate declared that he was only sent to watch him, and I believe he was right. As the Delegate's arrangements for feeding himself were of the vaguest character, I got a large bagful of bread-cakes baked, and chickens and mutton roasted, and several kindly natives brought

gifts of food, eggs, preserved dates and the like, which they had specially prepared for our journey. Among such gifts were several loaves of white bread, which Mrs. Ainslie, the wife of the American Missionary, had herself baked. There are, of course, evil, cruel and crafty people in Môṣul, as there are in most towns containing nearly 100,000 inhabitants, but White and I discovered many who were good and kind and sincere.

We embarked on our raft in the afternoon of February 26th, and as soon as we pushed out into the river we began to move quickly. The raftsman having tied a little bag of dust from the tomb of Rabban Hôrmîzd about his neck, felt happy and began to sing, and his helper threw down his cloak on the planks and began to pray, while the soldier began to bewail his departure from Môṣul and from a lady whose personal charms he praised extravagantly. We arrived at Ḥammâm 'Alî[1] a little before sunset, and there was sufficient light to enable us to walk over the mounds and find the traces of the excavations made by Layard[2] and by one of the French Consuls at Môṣul. Neither excavator discovered any Assyrian antiquities there, and the pieces of pottery suggested to me that the mounds covered the ruins of some early Arab town. Whether the great 'Alî is alluded to in the name "Bath of 'Alî" is uncertain, but I was assured that he had bathed there. The village is famous all over that part of the country for its hot sulphur springs, and the curious bath-houses built over them are generally crowded with men and women suffering from all manner of ailments. Patients of both sexes used the same bath, and there being little or no accommodation for their clothing many would walk or hobble there naked and unashamed. There is no doubt that the waters of the spring do cure skin diseases, rheumatism and sciatica, but the terribly insanitary state of the village, which so horrified George Smith, induces in those who stay there long gastric diseases to which many

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[1] The "Alyhamã" of Thévenot, to which many lepers resorted.
[2] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 465.

succumb. In the course of the evening we found the stench unbearable, and we were obliged to move our raft some distance down-stream. The night was very cold and in the morning we found that our beds and rugs were drenched with dew.

Being anxious to avoid visits from the people of Ḥammâm 'Alî we pushed out into the stream at dawn, February 27th, and in a short time we found ourselves opposite to the village of Salâmîyah (east bank). Yâḳût (iii, p. 113) speaks of the beauty of the village and says that it was one of the largest of the province of Môṣul, and that it was situated quite close to the ruined city of Athûr.[1] The Arab town must have been built on the ruins of an ancient Assyrian town, for a fragment of a fine cylinder, and a part of a sculptured slab, and bricks inscribed in cuneiform were found here.[2] When Layard was carrying on his excavations at Nimrûd he lived in the modern village, but I have found no evidence in his books that he ever attempted to examine archæologically the walls of the ancient town. We made no attempt to land at Salâmîyah and so floated down to the Nimrûd rapid. At the lower end of it are the remains of what appears to be an ancient stone dam which is called "Awây," *i.e.*, the "roarer," or "Ṣakhar al-Awây."[3] When the river is low these remains project nearly a couple of feet above the water, and they are said to consist of huge slabs of limestone held in position by metal clamps. Rich speaks of the "roaring" caused by the water rushing over it like a rapid, "boiling with great impetuosity."[4] Layard thought that these stones were the remains of the foundations of a wall and towers which had been gradually concealed by the deposits of the Tigris, and that the wall had once stood on the *western* bank.[5]

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[1] This town is mentioned by Ibn al-Athîr in his account of the campaign of âliḥ ibn Maḥmûd ; see vol. viii, p. 163.

[2] Felix Jones, *Topography of Nineveh*, p. 455.

[3] Rich calls this dam "Zikr ul-Aawaze" (Ṣakhar al-'Awâz ?).

[4] *Narrative*, ii, p. 129.

[5] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 466.

Be this as it may, the ridge of stones caused our raftsman some anxiety, for the raft became much shaken, and the creaking of the poles and straining of their lashings showed that it was being subjected to great pressure unevenly applied. A few minutes later we heard the skins scraping on the stones of the barrier, and we moved to the back of the raft with the view of lessening the weight on them. Meanwhile the raftsman and his helper thrust mightily with their sweeps and the raft turned broadside on and dropped over the barrier into the swirl of waters just below it.

Both Thévenot[1] and Tavernier say strange things about the "Nimrûd Dam." The former connects the remains of a castle (which he calls "Top-Calaï," and says he saw on the right (*sic*) bank) with the bridge, which was built by Nimrod so that he might cross over by it to the other side where his mistress lived. Tavernier says that the dam stretches right across the river from one bank to the other, and that it is 200 feet "de large," and causes the river in flowing over it to make "une cascade d'environ vingt brasses." Some Arabs told him that it was built by Alexander the Great, who wished to alter the course of the river, and others thought that Darius had built it to stop the Macedonians from descending the river. When Tavernier reached the dam he and his companions left their raft and had all their goods removed from it. He admired the way in which the raftsmen worked the raft over the dam, and watched it with astonishment as it righted itself on the waters after a fall of 26 feet![2] There must be some mistake in the figures, or exaggeration, or misprint, for the dam at Nimrûd can never have been 26 feet high. Niebuhr visited it and examined it and thought that it was not the work of the Arabs, and that it had been built to

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[1] *Voyage*, ii, p. 108.

[2] "Car on ne peut voir sans étonnement la chûte de ce Kilet [*i.e.*, Kalak], qui tombe tout d'un coup de la hauteur de près de six-vingt pieds, et qui passant parmi les ondes qui boüillonnent entre les rochers est soûtenu des oudres, et demeure toûjours sur l'eau." *Six Voyages*, Paris, 1676, vol. i, p. 204 (4th Voyage to Asia).

hold up water for irrigation purposes. In his opinion it was not dangerous for rafts that were worked by skilled raftsmen.[1]

As soon as the raft righted itself we saw that one corner of it and a part of one side were very low in the water, and it was clear that we had burst several skins on the barrier; we drifted slowly on to a place close to the modern village of Nimrûd and tied up there. We all helped in moving the bricks, etc., from the raft so that the skins might be examined, and whilst the raftsmen were engaged in this task I got a couple of the villagers to take me to the ruins of Nimrûd. Formerly the river flowed near its western wall, but now it is two miles or so from it.

The mounds of Nimrûd contain the remains of (*alu*) KALKHU 𒆳𒆭𒈾 𒆳𒆭𒈾 𒆳𒆭𒈾, the KELAKH כֶּלַח of Genesis x, 11, where the city is said to have been founded by Nimrod. The evidence derived from the cuneiform inscriptions shows that it was founded by Shalmaneser I about B.C. 1300, and refounded by Ashur-naṣir-pal (B.C. 885–860), who made it his capital and lived there. Seen in the light of early morning the ruins were a disappointment to me, for they seemed to consist of series of low, irregularly-shaped flat mounds, with a prominent pyramidal mound at the north-west corner of the platform on which the palaces were built. The sides of all the mounds were furrowed by rain torrents in all directions, but at many places they also bore signs of the work of archæological excavators. The area of the platform was in 1852 said to be about one hundred acres;[2] its length is about 2,500 feet, and its width 1,000 feet.[3] It lies north and south, and its shorter sides are the north and south sides. The line of the walls was still visible in many places, but their ruins suggested that they were neither so massive nor so high as those of Nineveh;

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[1] *Reisebeschreibung*, ii, p. 355.
[2] Felix Jones, *Topography*, p. 451.
[3] Smith's measurements were: North to South, 600 yards; West to East, 400 yards. (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 70.)

the strongest section of the wall seemed to have been on the north side. Some of the deeper cuttings in the west side of the platform may once have contained stairways. Layard proved by his excavations that the artificial mound was occupied by four palaces or royal buildings of some kind, and the sites of these were distinctly visible. They were enclosed by a wall quite separated from the city wall. At the north-west corner of the walled enclosure are the remains of a great *ziggurat*[1] or temple-tower, which stood upon a rectangular base of burnt bricks faced with slabs of stone, though the upper part of it was made of sun-dried bricks. Rich estimated its height at 144½ feet from the ground,[2] and Felix Jones at 133 feet above the low autumnal level of the Tigris, and about 60 feet above the platform of the palaces.[3] Recent measurements make its height above the plain to be 110 feet, and above the platform about 70 feet. When Smith was digging into this ziggurat he concluded from certain remains which he found on the southern face, that there had once existed a flight of steps on that side leading up to the tower.[4] On the south and east sides of the platform of Nimrûd there were several mounds which did not seem to me to have been excavated, and in the largest of these (that on the south side) one of the natives showed me the tops of some slabs which resembled in general form and thickness the bas-reliefs of Ashur-naṣir-pal in the British Museum. It is much to be hoped that one day all these mounds will be excavated and the débris in the ruined palaces carefully searched through for fragments.

Many European travellers had seen the place and wondered what these mounds might cover, but the first to call the attention of the learned world to their

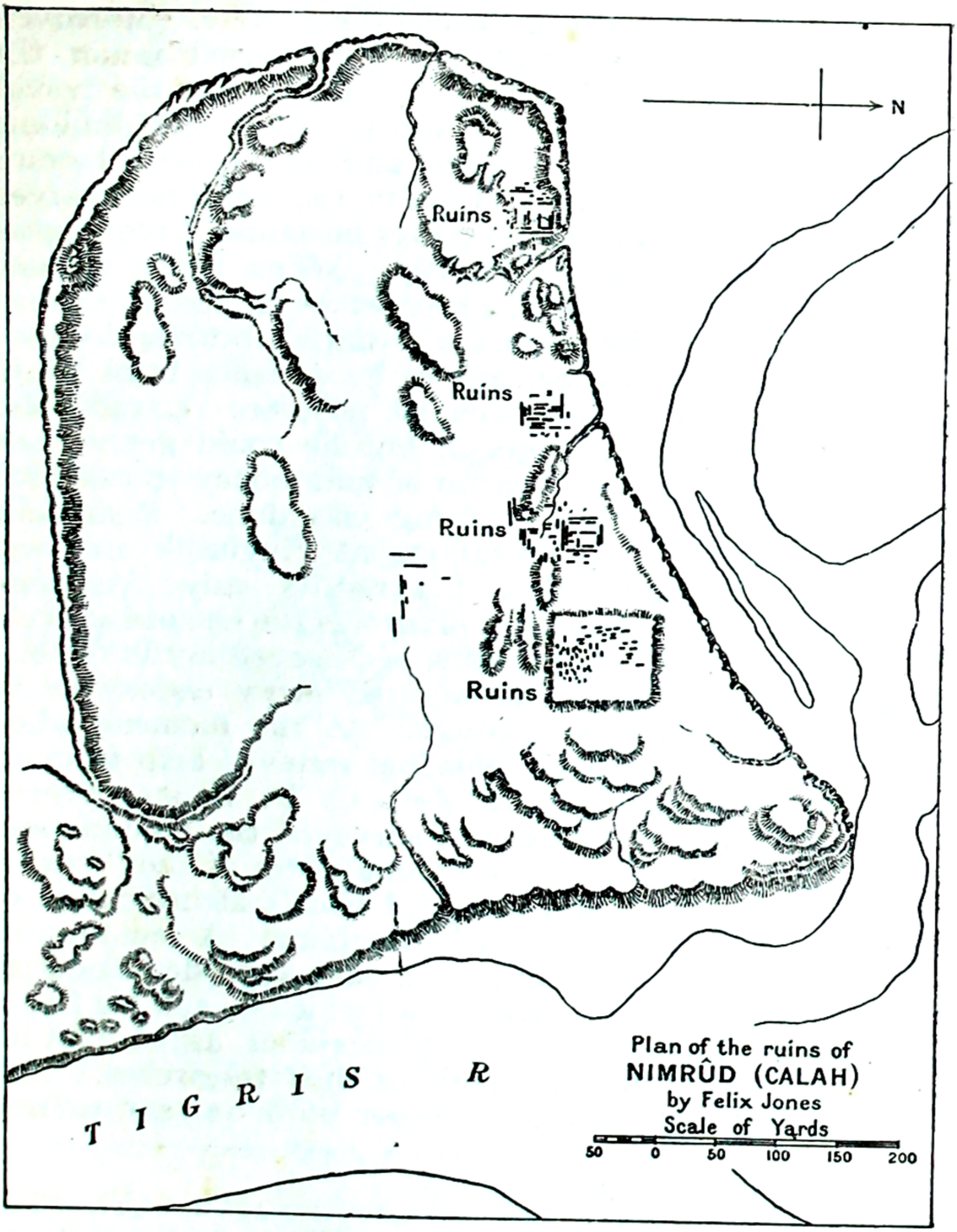
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[1] For Koldewey's description of the ziggurat see his *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa*, Berlin, 1911, p. 64.

[2] *Narrative*, ii, p. 132.

[3] *Topography*, p. 452.

[4] *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 75.



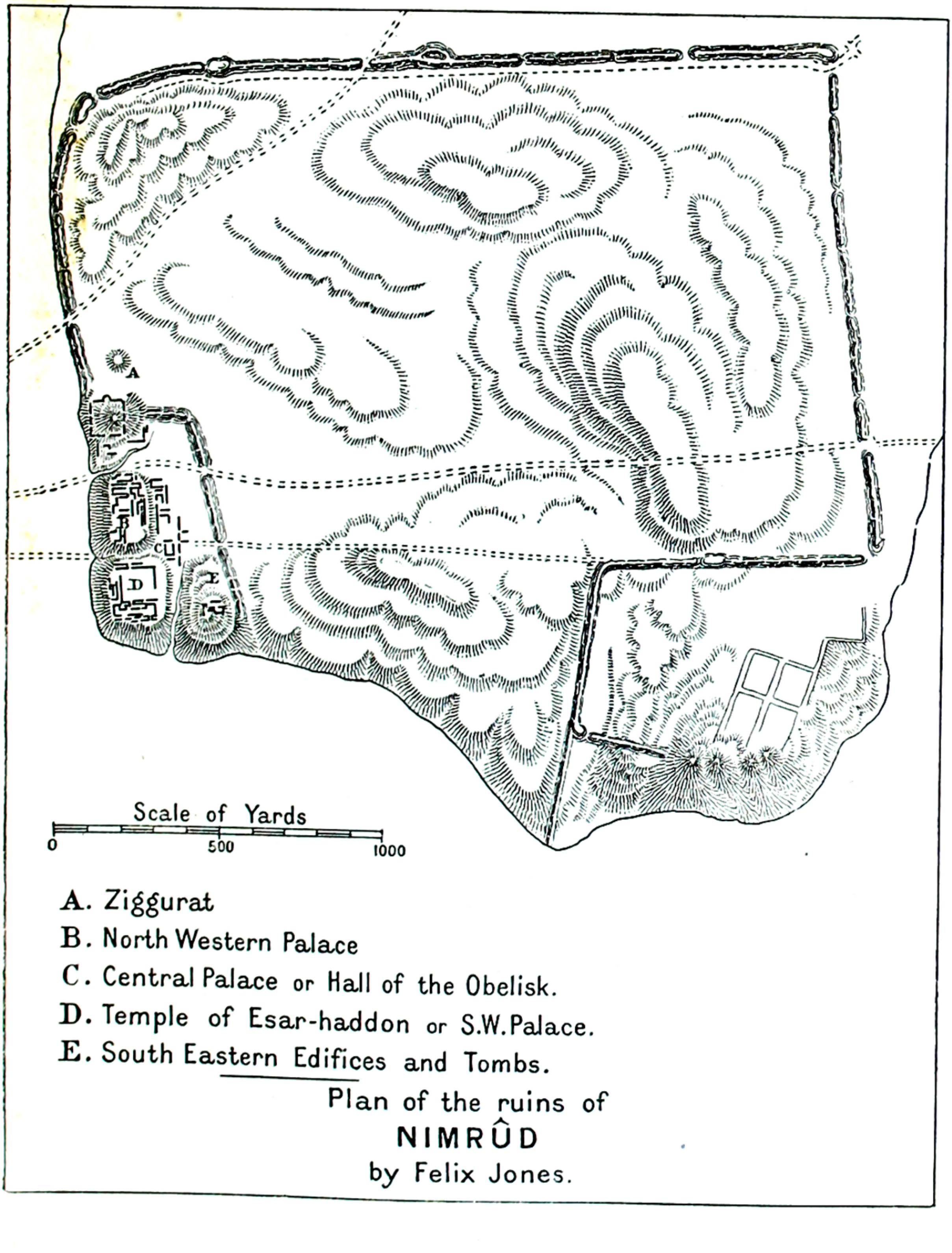
Plan of the ruins of
NIMRÛD (CALAH)
by Felix Jones
Scale of Yards
50 0 50 100 150 200

importance was Rich, who published a drawing of them[1] and copies of the cuneiform inscriptions which he found on fragments of Assyrian bricks lying there. Moreover, Rich was convinced that the city buried under the mounds was Larissa, and that the tower at the north-west corner of the platform was the pyramidal building which Xenophon[2] had seen and described. Layard went over the mounds carefully in 1840, and he resolved that whenever it was in his power he would "thoroughly examine" the ruins of Nimrûd. When Botta became French Consul in Môṣul, Layard wrote to him and called his attention to the mound of Nimrûd, but he declined to consider that site because of its distance from Môṣul (20 miles), and its inconvenient position. Layard also wrote to friends in England, but he could get no one to take an interest in Nimrûd or find money to excavate it, and for two years nothing was done. Meanwhile Botta was making excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ and discovered Khorsabad, but his results only confirmed Layard's belief that neither place was the site of Nineveh. He was certain that the ruins of Nineveh lay under the mounds of Nimrûd, and he used every endeavour to get excavations started there. At the moment when this seemed hopeless his pleading received help from an unexpected quarter. The Rev. G. P. Badger visited Nimrûd in March, 1844, and surveyed the mounds and measured them, and made careful notes of the "cone" (*i.e.*, the ziggurat), and accepted Rich's identification of Nimrûd with the Larissa of Xenophon. A few months later he was in Constantinople, and after describing to Stratford Canning the discoveries which he and his friend Mr. Ditell had made, the Ambassador asked him to draw up in writing the result of their researches. This Mr. Badger did, and on October 26th he sent to him

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[1] *Narrative*, ii, p. 130.

[2] Anabasis, iii, 4, § 7. He says its wall was 100 feet high and 25 broad, and that it rested on a stone foundation 20 feet high; its circuit was two parasangs. The pyramid of stone two plethra high and one plethron wide, which, he says, was near the city, was probably the ziggurat.



A. Ziggurat
B. North Western Palace
C. Central Palace or Hall of the Obelisk.
D. Temple of Esar-haddon or S.W. Palace.
E. South Eastern Edifices and Tombs.

Plan of the ruins of
NIMRÛD
by Felix Jones.

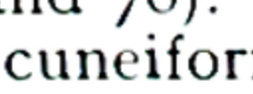
from Malta the report on Nimrûd of which he printed a copy in his "Nestorians and their Rituals" (vol. i. p. 87 ff). This report was the clearest and fullest account of Nimrûd possible at that time, and there can be little doubt that it induced Stratford Canning to start the excavations at Nimrûd.

When Layard was in Constantinople in 1845, Stratford Canning proposed to him that he should excavate Nimrûd, and offered to defray most of the expenses of the undertaking. Layard accepted his offer with alacrity and set out for Nimrûd in October. In a few months he cleared out the four great buildings on the platform at Nimrûd, and obtained a brilliant success. When the extent of the excavations increased the Trustees of the British Museum took over the work and carried it to a triumphant conclusion. But had it not been for the liberality and public spirit of Stratford Canning in the first instance it is probable, as Layard suggests, that the "treasures of Nimroud would have been reserved for the enterprise of those who have appreciated the value and importance of the discoveries at Khorsabad."[1] In 1854 H. Rassam reopened the excavations at Nimrûd and discovered the ruins of the temple of Adar, among which were six statues of the god Nebo.[2] These were made by Bêl-tarsi-iluma, the Governor of Kalkhu (Nimrûd), and dedicated by him to the god so that he might grant a long life to Rammânnirari III (812–783 B.C.), and to the Queen Sa-am-mu-ra-mat,[3] and to himself. In April, 1873, George Smith made excavations at Nimrûd with the object of finding the foundation-cylinders which both he and Rassam expected to discover

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[1] *Nineveh and its Remains*, p. 11. This work contains a full description of Layard's excavations at Nimrûd from 1845 to 1847; the account of his labours there in 1849–51 will be found in his *Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853.

[2] Two of these are in the British Museum (Nimrûd, Central Saloon, Nos. 69 and 70). See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. viii, p. 365.

[3] In cuneiform  . The first sign means "woman." See Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscr.*, vol. i, pl. 35, No. 2, l. 9. This name may be the original of the Greek "Semiramis."

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To face p. 97, vol. ii.



Khiḍr Elias.



A *kalak*, or raft, ready to start on its journey.

in the base of the "cone," or ziggurat, but he met with little success. He uncovered several inscriptions and verified passages which Layard had copied badly and dug through many of the old trenches and tunnels made by his predecessors. His three weeks' campaign produced small results.[1] In 1878 and 1879 H. Rassam re-opened his old works at Nimrûd and discovered the ruins of a temple of Ashur-naṣir-pal, at a spot to the "north of the North-West Palace of Nimroud." At the south-east corner of the mound he cleared out an "ascending passage with a perfect and well-built brick arch."[2] Since 1880 excavations at Nimrûd have been suspended.

Having seen all that there was to see above ground at Nimrûd, the natives took me beyond the curious angle made by the outer city wall at the south-east corner, and showed me the subsidiary wall and a group of four unexcavated mounds at the end of it. A little further on we came to some bitumen springs, and saw several black lumps of bitumen on the surface of the water. When I asked if there was anything more to be seen my guides offered to get me a donkey and to take me to the old Syrian monastery of Mâr Behnâm,[3] which

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[1] See *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 70–85.

[2] See his account in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii, p. 57.

[3] This monastery is commonly known among Muḥammadans in the district as "Khidhr Elyâs" خذر الياس, and it has been often referred to and described by travellers. Niebuhr (*Reise*, ii, p. 368) calls it "Chodder Elias," and says it is a Jacobite monastery, though the village is inhabited by Muslims; Layard speaks of the "ancient Chaldean monastery" called "Kuther Elias" (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 169); and Fletcher (*Notes from Nineveh*, ii, p. 28) spells the name "El Khudder." Why the monastery should bear the name of "Khidhr" (*i.e.*, "the evergreen"), that extraordinary personification of Elijah the Prophet, I have not been able to find out. Mâr Behnâm (= Persian بهنام, *i.e.*, "good name") is said to have been the son of the Magian high priest of Sapor, the great king, and to have been converted to Christianity by his sister Sârâ, who had been converted by her handmaiden. He and his sister escaped from their father's house and took refuge with Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maklûb, and were baptized by him. Later they fell into the hands of the Magians, who tortured them both to death, about A.D. 341. The monastery has been well described by Fletcher, *Notes from Nineveh*,

they assured me was "near" (*ḳarîb*). But I knew from experience that "near" in the mouth of an Arab in the desert was usually a vague expression, so I said, "If the monastery be near, show it to me." They at once took me to some rising ground near the north-east corner of Nimrûd and pointed to a block of buildings afar off, which they declared to be the monastery. But these seemed to me to be quite six or eight miles distant, and knowing that the journey there and back and the examination of the church and the other buildings would occupy a whole day, I reluctantly gave up the idea of going there and returned to the raft. I should have gone on to Mâr Behnâm when I was at Ḳarâ Ḳûsh and Ḳarâ Teppah[1] some ten days before.

When I returned to the raft I found that the damage done to it in its passage over the dam had been repaired, and that it once more floated levelly on the water. We started again in the early afternoon and quickly reached another rapid caused by another barrier in the river which the natives call "Awây Ṣakhar Munayyarah," because it is close to the village of Munayyarah on the west bank. The word "Awây" means the "roarer," and is added to many names of rapids because of the noise made by their waters. The water here was decidedly tumultuous, but none of the skins touched the obstruction, whatever it was, and all was well. We passed two small islands and then saw on the east bank the group of box-shaped mounds to which the name of

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ii, p. 78; by Badger, who also published a plan of the church, *Nestorians*, i, p. 94 f.; by Felix Jones, *Topography*, p. 471; and by Preusser (*op. cit.*, p. 4 ff.), who supplies a careful plan of the church and nineteen plates of reproductions of photographs. The Bêth Gubbâ, which is associated with Mâr Behnâm, is the Dêr al-Jubbi mentioned by Yâḳût (ii, p. 651), who says that it lay between Môṣul and Arbîl, and that many sick folk flocked there and were healed by the power of the saint. The Abyssinian Church commemorates Behnâm (በአሚን: Ba'mîn) on the 27th of the month Naḥassê (August 20).

[1] قراطپه, or "Black Hill," better known as Tall Balâwât, *i.e.*, "Hill of Troubles."

Ṣanâdîḳ (*i.e.*, "boxes") has been aptly applied by the natives. A few miles lower down we came to Jabal Mishrâḳ on the west bank, and just below it, on the east bank, the mouth of the Great or Upper Zâb River, about twenty-eight miles from Môṣul. There was much water in the Zâb, and its strong stream flowed grandly into the Tigris and forced its way nearly across it to the west bank. The place of its confluence with the Tigris is called "Makhlaṭ," or "Mikhlûṭ," *i.e.*, the "place of mingling," and its bright bluish-green water is in striking contrast with the muddy stream of the Tigris. Three or four miles up the Zâb on its south bank are two or three mounds, the larger of which is called Tall Kushâf.[1] These mounds mark the site of Nawkird,[2] نوكرد "New Town," an old Sassanian town, on which the Khalîfah Marwân II built the city known as "Ḥadîthah of Môṣul," to distinguish it from "Ḥadîthah of Nûrah" on the Euphrates.[3] Beyond the mouth of the Zâb we passed through another rapid which disturbed the raft considerably, and then we tied up for the night close to a village inhabited by Jabûr Arabs. Here we saw large numbers of mud huts and huge mud vessels filled with grain which had come down on rafts from the country through which the Zâb flows. These rafts were huge square structures and the grain was carried on them packed in sacks from four to six layers deep. Sometimes a raft suffered in its journey down the Zâb, and parts of the lowermost layer of sacks became submerged and the grain was spoiled. In such cases the raft was unloaded at the village where we tied up, and the sacks of wet grain taken out,

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[1] This is the spelling of Yâḳût (iv, p. 275).

[2] Yâḳût, ii, p. 223; Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 72, 75; Ibn Ḥawḳal, pp. 137, 147; Muḳaddasî, pp. 137, 139, 146.

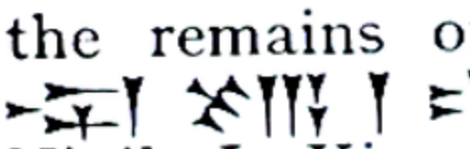
[3] The platform of the large mound is artificial, and rests upon rock, and on the platform are many layers of unbaked bricks. On the top runs a stone wall, and in Layard's day it had an arched gateway facing the south. These were probably parts of the comparatively modern fort in which a company of soldiers from Baghdâd was stationed to prevent raiding by the desert Arabs.

and the broken skins replaced by new. Large quantities of grain were exported from this village to Baghdâd.

We left the village about 6.30 the following morning, February 28th, and passed the village of Makûk on the east bank about two hours later. There were several mounds about two miles from the river, but there was no sign that they had been excavated. Three hours later we passed Al-Ḳayyârah[1] (so called because of the bitumen springs which are near it) on the east bank, and then for several miles we floated along without seeing anything of special interest. The country on both banks was very flat, and every here and there were large encampments of Arabs. In the early afternoon we saw several mounds a little to the south of the village of Tulûl 'Aḳîr,[2] and knowing that we must be near

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[1] See the description of these bitumen springs in the *Travels* of Ibn Baṭûṭah, vol. ii, p. 134. When the natives wanted bitumen they set fire to the vapour, as they do to-day, and then cut out the pieces they needed.

[2] The ruins here are, according to Messrs. Andrae and Bachmann, the remains of the ancient Assyrian city of Kar Tukulti Ninib  , which was built by Tukulti-Ninib I, King of Assyria, B.C. 1275. They were excavated in the winter of 1913–14. See the letter of December 13th in *Mitt. Deutsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1913, 1914. The rectangular stone tablet of Tukulti-Ninib I (Brit. Mus., No. 98494), which records the building of this city, was acquired by L. W. King, and brought to England in 1906. The text forms a very important historical document, for it describes how Tukulti-Ninib I defeated Bitiliashu, the Kassite King of Babylon, and led him captive to his city, and paraded him before his god. By this conquest Sumer and Akkad became subject to Assyria. The tablet was probably buried in the foundations of the wall of the city, and was discovered by natives, who sold it to the dealers, from whom King acquired it. Here is another example of the discovery of an ancient site by natives who were digging for bricks to build their houses with. For the complete text and translation of the tablet see King, *The Inscription of Tukulti-Ninib*, London, 1906. Ibn Baṭûṭah says (ii, p. 133) that after travelling two days from Takrît he came to a village called Al-'Aḳar, on the Tigris. Near it was a hill on which a castle formerly stood, and at the foot of it was the "Iron Khân," a well-built edifice with towers. It would seem that the hill he refers to is Tulûl 'Aḳîr.

Ḳal'at Sharḳât,[1] or the "Eastern Fortress," I reminded the raftsman that we must stop there. This he strongly objected to do, and urged as his excuse the existence of several rapids which ought to be passed before sunset. And pointing to the strong swift current running in the river he said that only Allah could bring the raft to land safely, and by way of settling the matter he asked if I thought he was Allah? The argument I used convinced him that he could land us near the ruins on the west bank, and he did so, near the Wâdî ash-Shababîk, or "Valley of Windows," a little to the north of the ancient mound. We went up to the highest point and so obtained a good general view of the ruins, which seemed to consist of a series of mounds of débris, apparently of many periods. The general arrangement of the old Assyrian city was substantially that of Nineveh and Kalkhu (Nimrûd), for all the royal buildings, including the palace and the chief temple, stood in one quarter of the area. The remains of the great ziggurat are at the north end of the city and were then about 140 feet high, and the circuit of the area of the city, which contained about two hundred and twenty-five acres, seemed to be about two and a half miles. On the river side the mound was very steep. Each of the large mounds probably covered some great building or temple. The Turkish guardhouse, which was dignified by the name of "Castle" (Ḳal'ah), was a tumble-down building, but the occupants showed me much civility and invited me to drink coffee with them. They seemed genuinely glad to see strangers, and wished us to spend the night under their roof. They were stationed at Ḳal'at Sharḳât

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[1] This is the transcription of the Arabic قَلْعَة هَرْقَات, as Rawlinson wrote the name. In Baghdâd a scribe wrote the name for me thus, قَلْعَة هَرْقاط, Ḳal'at Sharḳaṭ, and I have seen the name spelt "Ḳal'at Sharghâṭ," قَلْعَة هَرْغات. The Turks call the place Ṭûprâḳ Ḳal'at, طوپراق قَلْعَة, which means "Earth Castle." Which Arabic form is the more correct cannot be said until the meaning of the name is known. Sharḳât, or Sharghât, probably hides an ancient Assyrian name for the city or district.

to prevent the desert Arabs from raiding passing rafts, but they admitted that they were too few in number to check raiding effectively. Two or three of them came down to the raft and received with satisfaction a gift of bread-cakes and a small 3-lb. loaf of white sugar. We dropped down the river for two or three miles and then tied up for the night under a high bank on the right side of the river.

The extent and importance of the ruins of Kal'at Sharḳât were first pointed out in modern times by Rich,[1] who published an outline drawing of them; he was unable to go over them, for "owing to the violence of the current and the eddies" his raftsmen absolutely refused to make the attempt to land. With his glass he saw lines of stone-masonry in the heaps of rubbish, and on their surface fragments of buildings, and large square bricks. One piece of stone seen by him was "carved like the fragment of a statue." Curiously enough he greatly underestimated the height of the ruins, for he states that they are 20 feet high. In his day they were regarded as the mark of the southern boundary of the province of Môṣul on the west bank of the Tigris. They lie about 40 miles from the mouth of the Great Zâb, 50 miles from Nimrûd, and 75 miles from Môṣul. When Layard visited them in 1840 the natives told him of a tradition that "strange figures carved in black stone still existed amongst the ruins,"[2] but he could not find any. Later he saw there the headless statue of Shalmaneser II and caused it to be sent to England; it is in the British Museum (Nimrûd Central Saloon, No. 849). Between 1849 and 1851 he renewed the excavations at Ḳal'at Sharḳât "which had been very imperfectly examined," and found fragments of a winged bull, part of a black stone statue, pieces of a large inscribed slab of copper, the fragments of a large inscribed cylinder in baked clay, a copper cup, some vases and beads, but he doubted if "an edifice containing any number of sculptures or inscriptions ever existed on

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[1] *Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 137.
[2] *Nineveh and its Remains* (1867 edition), p. 4.

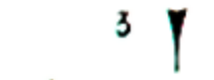
the platform."[1] Rassam also excavated there under Rawlinson's direction and found three terra-cotta cylinders of Tiglath-Pileser I, about B.C. 1100 (Nos. 91,033–91,035). These mention the rebuilding of the temple of Anu and Rammân by Shamshi-Rammân, B.C. 1820. When the inscriptions on these cylinders were read it was generally accepted that the mounds of Ḳal'at Sharḳât contained the remains of the city of Ashur, the oldest capital of Assyria. It has long been known that this city was very old, and the way in which it is mentioned with Nineveh by Khammurabi in the preface to his Code of Laws, suggests that the two cities were very ancient even in his time. But the excavations which the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft made between 1903 and 1914 have proved that the earliest inhabitants of the site were not Semites but probably Sumerians; according to some they were Hittites. If this be so, there may have been a city at Ashur as early as B.C. 3500, and probably earlier.

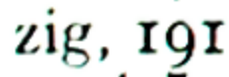
And here reference may well be made to the thorough and comprehensive series of excavations which Professor Andrae and his colleagues have made at Ḳal'at Sharḳât on behalf of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. They have systematically searched the mound layer by layer, and discovered sculptured figures which must date from Sumerian times. They have described a splendid series of historical stone stelæ[2] which were set up in honour of kings and high officials of the city, and monuments of some of its earliest rulers. Among the inscriptions discovered by them are some which mention Ushpia,[3] the founder of the temple of Ashur, and Kikia,[4] the great builder, who, judging by their names, were probably not Semites. They have cleared to the foundations the great temple of Anu-Adad,[5] and in the course of their

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[1] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 581.

[2] Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur*, Leipzig, 1913.

[3]  . Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, Leipzig, 1911. (Shalmaneser I, No. 13, col. 3, l. 33.)

[4]  . Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, No. 63, l. 5.

[5] Andrae, *Der Anu-Adad-Tempel*, Leipzig, 1909.

work on the remains of the temple of Ishtar have identified the remains of several temples to the goddess which succeeded each other on the same site. The development of the defences of Ashur has been carefully worked out,[1] and the publication of the historical inscriptions begun.[2] It has been possible to watch the course of this great work through the series of letters by Andrae which appeared in the *Mitteilungen* of the Society, but it is to be hoped that he will summarize the results of his labours in a single volume, and do for Ashur what Koldewey has done for Babylon. It is impossible not to regret that Layard and Rassam did not make use of the golden opportunity they had of excavating Ashur and carrying off rich archæological spoils, for in their day they had permission to take possession of anything and everything they dug up, and there was no Imperial Ottoman Museum to obstruct their researches. Because they thought there was no chance of finding at Ḳal'at Sharḳât the bulls and bas-reliefs with which their minds were obsessed, neither of them found there "any trace of its former magnificence," and neither saw any "sign of any ancient building."[3] A visitor to Ḳal'at Sharḳât during the course of the German excavations says: "Their methods is undeniably thorough, and suggests unlimited resources. You have a set of mounds before you, covering perhaps twenty acres or more, and rising to a height of about eighty feet. A light railway is laid down running well out into the desert; and the whole of these mounds, or something like it, goes through a fine sieve and is carried into the wilderness and dumped. When a pavement is reached in this process that level is cleared absolutely, and everything worth preserving is preserved, with careful plans showing the position in which it was found. Then that pavement is broken up and progress made to the next level; and so the work is continued till virgin

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[1] Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur*, Leipzig, 1913.
[2] Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, Part I.
[3] *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. viii, p. 364.

soil is reached."[1] This is exactly what still wants doing at Ḳuyûnjiḳ.

We set out again on our journey the next morning, March 1st, at 6.30, and soon passed a mass of rocks which stood out boldly in mid-stream. A few miles lower down the course of the river changed, and we left the ridge of hills called Khanûḳah behind us and floated eastward. We passed the Khanûḳah rapids, and the barrier of Ṣakhar an-Naml, or "Barrier of the Ants," without difficulty, but the Farrâj Rocks caused the raftsmen much trouble. The raft swayed and creaked, and the fastening of some of the poles got loose, and as soon as we could we tied up to repair the damage and reinflate the skins. The altar of Sargon II and the Delegate's bricks were weighty objects. When we started again we floated almost due south, but as soon as we came close in under Jabal al-Makḥûl on the west bank, the river turned off sharply towards the east. Close by, also on the west bank, we saw the ruined castle to which the Arabs have given the name of Ḳal'at al-Bint, *i.e.*, the "Maiden's Castle," or "Ḳal'at al-Makhûl." The castle stands on the top of a hill nearly two hundred feet high, and there is a deep cutting on each side of it. Considerable portions of many of the walls still remain. A little lower down we passed through the rapid of Turêshah, which caused us no trouble, though its waters were in a state of commotion and made a great noise. We then passed the mouth of the Little or Lower Zâb, on the east bank, and the mouth of the Wâdî Jahannam, or "Hell Valley" (on the west bank), which divides Jabal Khanûḳah from Jabal Ḥamrîn. Then came Tall Marmûs, on the east bank, Ḳal'at Jabbâr,[2] or the "Giant's Castle," which is perched on a hill on the west bank, Tall al-Dhahab or "Gold Hill,"[3] and then another rapid. Soon after the rapid the river turned sharply to the east, and then turned again to

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[1] Wigram, *Cradle of Mankind*, p. 344.
[2] The "Gioubbar Calai" of Thévenot. (*Voyage*, ii, p. 111.)
[3] The "Altun Daghi" of Thévenot. (*Voyage*, ii, p. 111.)

the south-east. Close to Al-Fatḥah, *i.e.*, the "Opening," where there is a pass through Jabal Ḥamrîn, we saw on the east bank some ruins, which did not appear to be ancient, and close to the east bank a large solitary rock standing in the stream. A few miles lower down we skirted several islands, and floated down the river swiftly with the strong current; at the foot of a long rapid Jabal Ḥamrîn comes close up to the river on the west bank. We next passed Tall al-Laḳlaḳ,[1] or the "Chattering Hill," on the east bank, and then some large mounds on the west bank; close to these was Khân Kharnênah,[2] where we saw a camp of soldiers. Several miles lower down the river on the west bank we saw Ḳal'at Abû Riyâsh, a ruined castle, which seemed to be about to tumble into the river, and then, on the same side of the river, several Muḥammadan tombs. Among these is the tomb of Abû Khalkhalân, son of Imâm Mûsa, the seventh Shi'ite Imâm, who is buried at Kâẓimên near Baghdâd. The river now ran due south through fine open country, and palm trees appeared on the banks. These were standing in large groups in gardens which were watered by oxen. The animals did not walk round and round on a platform above the river, as they do when turning a water-wheel, but they drew up the water-skins, to which they were attached by a rope, by walking down a slope away from the river, on the bank of which the staging was erected. When the skins reached the level of the staging, the oxen stopped, and their drivers tilted out the water into a channel, from which it was directed on to the land through many runnels. The oxen then walked back up the slope, the drivers let the skins down again into the river, and the process was repeated as long as necessary. Soon afterwards we saw in the distance, on the west bank, the high cliff on which stood the old castle and fortifications of Takrît, and we prepared

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[1] "Three miles to the north of Leg Leg is the northern mouth of the old Nahrawân Canal." Felix Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[2] See Felix Jones, *Bombay Records*, vol. xliii, p. 26.

to stop at the modern village of the same name near the cliff and close to the ruins of the old town.

The site of the old town of Takrît is easily identified by the ruins of houses and other buildings, the foundations of which are visible. It was surrounded with strong stone walls, but was separated from the castle by a moat, or an arm of the Tigris.[1] The ruins of the castle, which stood about one hundred feet above the town, were considerable, but the natives were taking away the stones[2] from its outer walls for building purposes. The first to build a castle at Takrît was, according to Yâḳût (i, p. 861), Sapor, the son of Ardashîr, but the position of the town makes it certain that there must have been a strong city here at a far earlier period. In the tenth century it contained a strong fortress, but the bulk of the inhabitants were Christians[3] who supported a large monastery; according to Mas'ûdî (ii, p. 32) the Christians were Jacobites. It is possible that the ruins of the churches which are pointed out to the visitor are theirs. Ibn Jubêr, who stayed at Takrît in the second half of the twelfth century, says that it was an old and famous city, large and spacious, with fine bazârs and numerous mosques.[4] Ibn Baṭûṭah says practically the same thing (ii, p. 133), and praises the character of the people of Takrît and their kindly disposition. Takrît will be famous for all time as the birthplace of Ṣalaḥ ad-Din, or Saladin, the son of Ayûb, an officer of the Khalîfah of Baghdâd, who was born there in 1137–38.[5]

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[1] Rich published a drawing which gives a good idea of the position of the town in respect to the castle. (*Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 146.)

[2] "Large massive bastions of lime and pebbles, faced with solid brickwork, abut around the cliff, between which the wall once stood. On the south face, between the citadel and the modern town and half-way down the cliff, two buttresses, of the same formation as the bastions, point out the situation of the gateway. The bricks which face them have been carried away." Felix Jones, *Records*, No. 43, p. 23. For a drawing of the citadel see p. 8.

[3] Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 156. [4] *Travels*, ed. Wright, p. 234.

[5] An excellent summary of the three periods of the life of this chivalrous warrior is given in Lane-Poole, *The Middle Ages*, London, 1901, p. 190 ff.

We arrived at Takrît (about 150 miles from Môṣul and 120 from Baghdâd) soon after noon, and when we had walked about and looked at the ruins we went into the poor and straggling bazâr to make a few purchases. The Delegate had spent most of his time on the raft in making coffee over a brazier, and in lamenting whilst he drank it his hard fate in having to travel on a raft where, he said, he was roasted by day and frozen by night. As a result our coffee was nearly finished when we were little more than half-way to Baghdâd, and sugar was urgently needed. Our soldier took us to a shop kept by an Arab and we purchased coffee without difficulty. When we began to bargain for sugar, the price of which was trebled for our benefit, the shop-keeper seemed unwilling to sell, even though we were ready to pay what he asked. Several of the people who were passing through the bazâr stopped to listen to what we were saying, and as is usual in such cases several of them passed their opinions and discussed the price of the sugar as if they were the would-be buyers. During a pause in the talk our soldier said, "O merchant-man, why are you asking the Beg to pay so much? Wallah! (by Allah) you are trying to cheat him." The merchant made no reply, but a sinister-looking man wearing a long black cloak and a green turban (which proclaimed him to be a descendant of 'Alî the Khalîfah), said to the soldier, "O dog of blood, thy business is swords and guns and not sugar and coffee. What is it to thee if the merchant makes these filthy Christians, may Allah curse their fathers, pay more than the sugar is worth? They have *majîdîs* as we have paras,[1] they are . . ." Here followed much obscene abuse of Christians in general, and ourselves in particular. I retorted in kind to the very best of my ability and tried to complete my purchase. Presently some mass whizzed between the heads of White and myself and fell with a crash on a box, which it split open, and we quickly realized that the Sayyid with the green turban had lost

[1] Forty paras = 1 piastre, $2\frac{1}{2}d$.

his temper and hurled one of the merchant's stone weights at us. The soldier seized the Sayyid and a scuffle began, and as some of the bystanders began to hit and kick the soldier, White and I attacked his attackers and a sort of free fight took place, during which the merchant's scales and shelves got smashed and his stock scattered about. Before the soldier had done with the Sayyid the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm, or local governor, appeared with a couple of his men and seized the Sayyid, who had lost his turban and most of his garments in his struggle with the soldier. It seemed that his quarrelsome disposition was well known, and that he was a fanatic and violent Shi'ite, who never missed an opportunity of fighting with Christians. The Ḳâ'im Maḳâm insisted on our going to his house, where we drank coffee with him and stayed a short time, and he showed us much civility. He excused the rudeness of the Sayyid on the ground that he suffered greatly from fever, so I left some quinine with the officiai, and asked him to dose the Sayyid with it in order to prevent him from making further attacks upon travellers.

We returned to our raft in the early afternoon accompanied by the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm and several of the people from the bazâr, who wished us a safe passage to Baghdâd. The river at Takrît was very wide, quite 600 yards, and the current was very strong. We changed raftsmen here and were very sorry to part with Salîm, who had brought us down from Môṣul, and had told us many interesting stories and traditions about earlier British travellers whom he and his father and his grandfather had served. He seemed to know and to have names for every rock in the river, and he believed firmly that three which he pointed out to us were the homes of evil spirits, and gave them as wide a berth as he possibly could. Our new raftsman was not ready to start till three o'clock, but when we unmoored the current carried the raft along at a good pace; we had a fine view of the country on the east bank. There were large continuous patches of cultivation to be seen in many places, and groups of palm trees became quite common. We

passed several rocks standing up abruptly in mid-stream, and in many places the violent eddies and swirls proclaimed submerged dangerous rocks or obstructions of some sort. We drifted for a couple of hours and then the striking building of the Imâm Muḥammad of Dûr came into sight on the east bank. We passed in safety through the rocks of Dûr and then drifted slowly along by the side of a large island full of pretty stretches of cultivation, and when we reached the southern end of it we had a fine view of the "Imâm Dûr" and of the modern village of Dûr, which looked very well in the light of the setting sun. The tomb of this Shi'ite Imâm seemed to me to be like the so-called Tomb of Zubêdah at Baghdâd, that is to say, it has a square base out of which rises a conical tower with the quaint decoration common to such buildings at Baghdâd, Ḥillah, Kûfah, Kifl, etc.[1] It stands on a low hill between the river and the village, and is said by Felix Jones to be visible from Takrît. There seems to be little doubt that there has been a town at Dûr from time immemorial. There is no proof that the district about it is the "plain of Dûra," mentioned in Daniel iii, 1, as Rich thought. A town stood there in Parthian times, and Ammianus (xxv, 6, 9) mentions Dura in A.D. 363, and Polybius (v. 52) in B.C. 220. Dûr is frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, who call it "Dûr al-'Arabâyâ," or "Dûr al-Ḥarîth,"[2] and it was famous as the town at the head of the great "Cut of Chosroes" (Al-Ḳâtul al-Kisrawî) or the Nahrawân Canal.[3] This canal started on its course to the south on the east bank of the Tigris, and the Isḥâkî Canal began its course on the west bank. Opposite Dûr the river split up into a number of channels through which the water flowed at great speed, but it would have been comparatively easy to bridge them. Here Jovian and his soldiers are said to have crossed the Tigris after the death of Julian. A little below Dûr,

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[1] A drawing of it is given by Rich. (*Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 148.)

[2] *E.g.*, Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 166; Yâḳût, ii, p. 615.

[3] On the track of this famous Canal, see Felix Jones, *Bombay Records*, vol. xliii, p. 55 ff.

on the east bank, we caught a glimpse of the large high mound called "Tall al-Banât," or "Hill of the Maidens." Between it and us was much smoke or mist, but whether this was due to limekilns[1] or the cool of the evening it was impossible to say. We tied up for the night on the west bank, opposite the mouth of the Nahrawân Canal, and near Tall al-Muhêjîr.

We set out next morning, March 2nd, soon after daylight and did not attempt to cross to the east bank to see the ruins of the "Leaded Bridge" or "Leaded Dam" (Ḳanṭarat ar-Raṣâṣah), so called because the stones are clamped together with lead. We passed Abû Dalîf, on the east bank, where some columns of an old mosque were still standing, and then the ruins of the famous palaces and buildings which are grouped under the name of "Ḳaṣr al-Mutawakkil," and were known by the Arab geographers as the "Mutawakkilîyah," or "Ja'farîyah." It is quite clear that from this point southward the whole of the east bank was the northern suburb of Sâmarrâ;[2] a large part of this section of the bank is commonly called "Eski Baghdâd," or "Old Baghdâd." Soon after this we passed on the east bank a group of ruins called "Shinâs," and then came to Tall 'Alîj, the "Nose-bag mound"[3] of Felix Jones, who thought that it marked the spot where the body of Julian the Apostate was burnt before its removal to Tarsus. It lies some distance from the river, probably two or three miles. On the same side of the river were the ruins of the famous "Ḳaṣr al-Ma'shûḳ,"[4] or the "Castle of the Beloved," which was built by Mu'tamid, the son of Mutawakkil, about 890. A little lower down, on the west bank, we saw the ruined walls of Ḳaṣr al-'Ashîḳ, which must have been a large and strong fortress,

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[1] There were many limekilns here in Felix Jones' time, and the people of Dûr supplied Baghdâd with lime, sending it down the river on rafts.

[2] See Guy le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 53–57.

[3] An old Arab tradition says that the earth which formed this mound was brought there in horses' "nose-bags," or, in other words, that sacks were used for carrying the earth there instead of wicker baskets.

[4] The "Aaschouk" and "Maaschouk" of Thévenot (ii, p. 115), who says, "Les gens du pays disent que ces lieux sont ainsi nommez

and passing the ruins of Khalîfah, on the east bank, we came to Sâmarrâ, where we tied up near the bridge of boats.

On landing we went over some low sandy ground, and turning away from the high bank of the river saw the modern town for the first time. A thick wall about 18 or 19 feet high surrounds the whole town, but it seemed to me comparatively new, and in places it needed repair. A native, whom we induced with difficulty to accompany us through the town, advised us to get out of the place as soon as possible, and the behaviour of the bazâr folk showed that Christians were not wanted in Sâmarrâ. In these days Sâmarrâ is famous because it contains the tombs of the Tenth Imâm, 'Alî al-'Askarî, and his son Ḥasan, the Eleventh Imâm ; and their handsome cupolas and minarets are striking objects when seen from a distance. To get anywhere near them was impossible. The mosque with the small cupola is said to cover the underground chamber where the Twelfth Imâm hid himself in 898, and is said to live to this day. He was called "Al-Ḳâ'im," and was regarded as the Mahdî who was to come one day and right the wrong in the world. We were told that the exact spot whence he will emerge from the ground is known, and is pointed out to the true believers who make pilgrimages, chiefly from Persia, to this shrine. These tombs are in the western half of the city. North of the modern town is the large walled enclosure, 810 feet long and 490 feet broad, within which the great mosque stands; the main entrance faces the Ḳiblah, and the walls are 30 feet high.[1] Immediately to the north of this enclosure stands what Rich called a "corkscrew tower, a spiral dividing it into six towers." It is called the

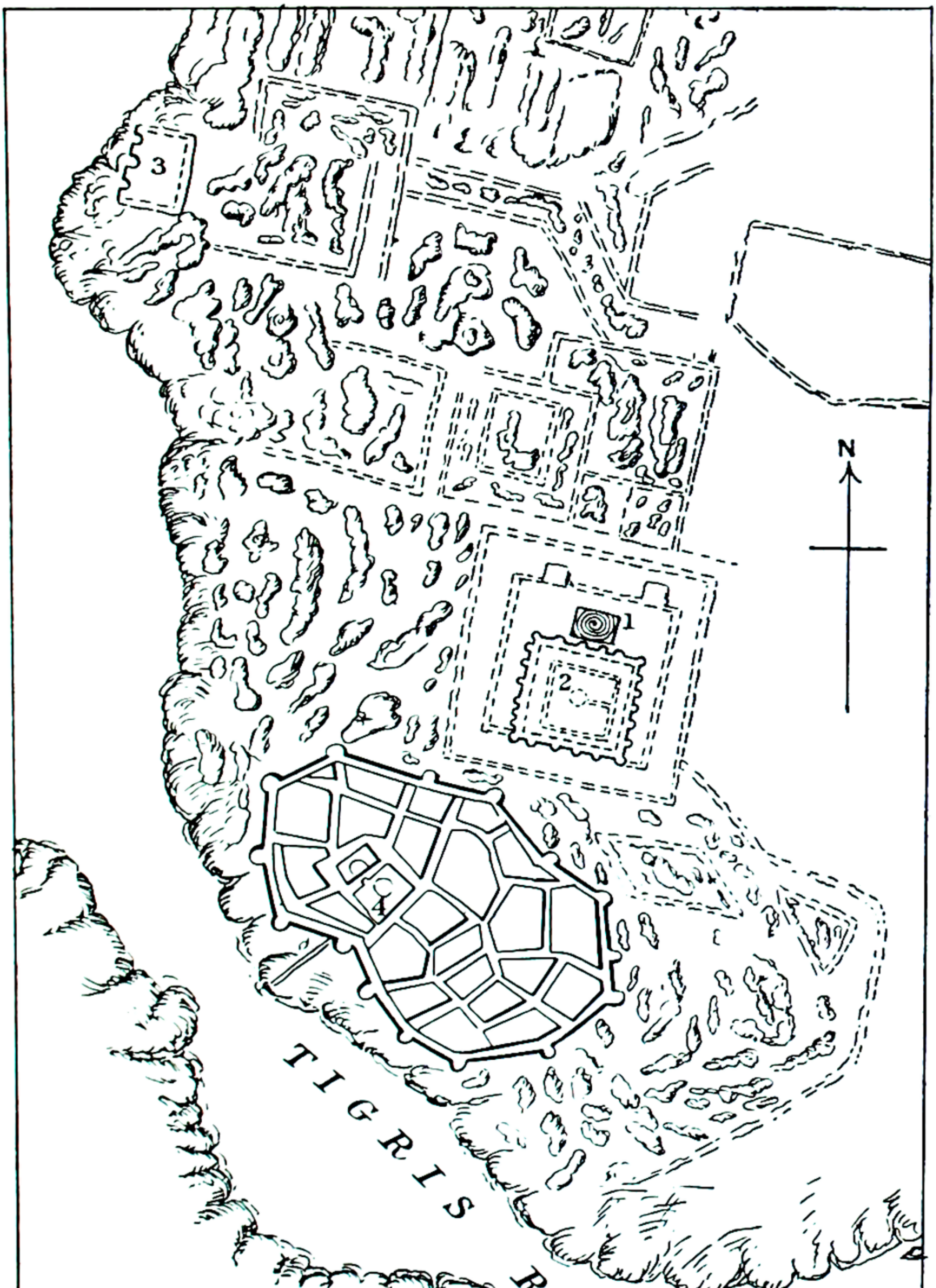
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à cause que dans chacun de ces villages, il y a eu autrefois une tour, dans l'une desquelles il demeuroit un homme qui estoit amoureux d'une femme qui habitoit dans la tour de l'autre village, et dont il estoit pareillement aimé."

[1] These are the measurements of Felix Jones (*op. cit.*, p. 13). Rich thought that the enclosure measured 200 yards by 150 yards. (*Narrative*, ii, p. 151.)

PLAN OF THE RUINS OF SÂMARRÂ

by Felix Jones.



1. Malwiyah
2. Madrassah or Mosque
3. Palace of the Khalîfah.
4. Tombs of the Imâms.

"Malwîyah,"[1] مَلْوِيَّة, because of the spiral paths to the top on the outside of it. Felix Jones ascertained its height to be 163 feet.[2] Some modern travellers hold the view that the "Malwîyah" is a Babylonian ziggurat,[3] or temple-tower, but it is more probably the minaret of the mosque built by Mu'tasim.

The site of Sâmarrâ is so convenient and the climate so good, and before the destruction of the ancient system of canals its fertility was so great, that there must always have been a town there. Babylonian bricks have been found on the foreshore, but they may, of course, have been brought there from Babylon. There was a city there in Julian's time, and it seems to have been a place of importance when the Arabs conquered Mesopotamia. It was the 'Abbâsid capital during the reigns of seven Khalîfahs, *i.e.*, from 836 to 892, and each of them spent large sums in building vast and beautiful palaces at Sâmarrâ itself and on the western bank of the Tigris just opposite. Long after the return of the 'Abbâsid Court to Baghdâd it preserved much of its importance, and the splendour of its great mosque attracted many to the town. In the fourteenth century the town was a mere mass of ruins, as Abû 'l-Fidâ (p. 300) and Ibn Baṭûṭah (ii, 132) testify. Later it was occupied by Shi'ites, and the bulk of the population to-day are members of this sect. The tombs of the Imâms are maintained by the offerings of the pilgrims, who are also called upon to pay for the upkeep of the walls.[4]

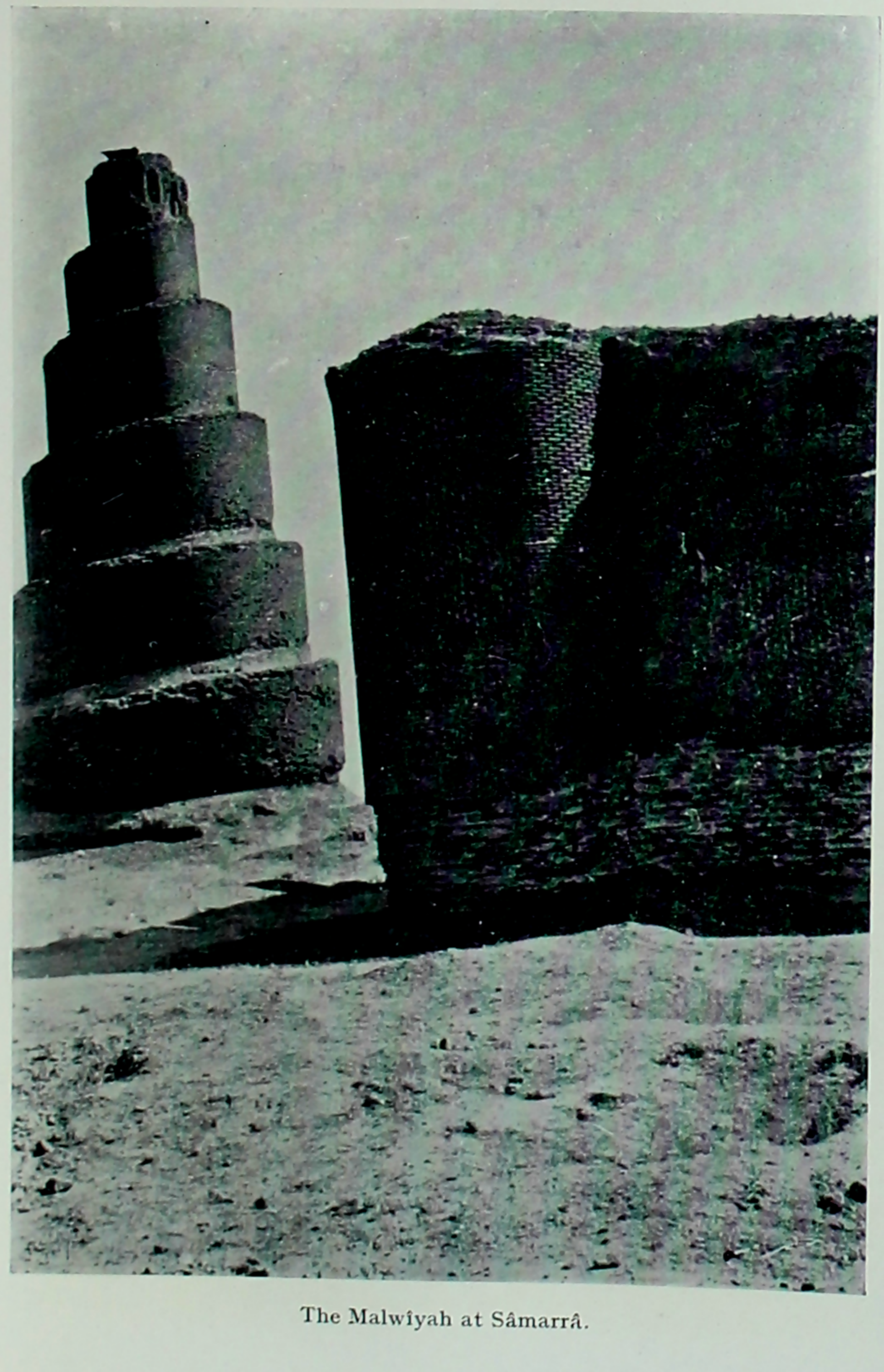
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[1] A rock at Nahâwand, with a winding path about it, is also called "Malwîyah." See Yâḳût, iv, p. 638.

[2] Rich says it is about 200 feet high.

[3] "At Samarra . . . stands the only ziggurat, or Babylonian temple-tower, that has not been ruined in the lapse of centuries. By some fortunate freak of fate, the great pyramid, with its spiral ascent to the summit, was preserved when worship ceased in the temple below. It went on as a Zoroastrian fire-temple, and subsequently as minaret to the great mosque which Harun-l-Rashid built at its foot." Wigram, *Cradle of Mankind*, p. 348.

[4] Accounts of Sâmarrâ by the Arab geographers will be found in Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 78–86; Ibn Ḥawḳal, pp. 156, 157; Muḳaddasî, pp. 114,



The Malwîyah at Sâmarrâ.

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We returned to our raft in safety, but did not take with us the good wishes of the townsfolk, who possessed a violent hatred for all Christians, especially when accompanied by a man wearing a *tarbûsh*, and therefore believed by them to be both a Turk and a Turkish official. This hatred took the form of a refusal to sell us some melons, and a good deal of stone throwing at large, mingled with good comprehensive cursing of ourselves and our forebears. But fortunately the Sâmarrâlî trader loved the rupee as much as other folk, and so it fell out that after we had scrambled down the steep bank to the raft, and were just pushing off into the stream, a man sprang up, apparently from nowhere, with a large loose sack containing several fine melons, which he rolled on to the raft.

Soon after we left we passed on the east bank the ruined tower or building called "Al-Ḳâ'im," which was said to be quite hollow, though Felix Jones describes it as a "solid quadrangular tower." It is surrounded with ruins on all sides, and may be the remains of a large edifice built by one of the Khalîfahs who beautified Sâmarrâ. A little later we saw on the west bank the ruins of the town of Iṣṭabulât, round which parts of the old girdle wall were still standing. On the west bank, almost opposite, are masses of ruins, now commonly called "Aṣ-Ṣanam," *i.e.*, the "Image," probably because of the stone statue of a god or king, which Rich saw there and described (*Narrative* ii, p. 152). Rich says it was made of grey granite and basalt, and if this be so, it was probably an ancient Babylonian statue.[1] A little further on we passed, on the same bank, the ruins of

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115, 120, 125; and Yâḳût, vol. iii, pp. 14, 22, 82, 675, etc. The detailed account of the founding of the 'Abbâsid city is given by Mas'ûdi, vii, pp. 120–123. See also le Strange, *Baghdad*, Oxford, 1900, pp. 246–9, and *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, pp. 53–56; and Felix Jones (*Bombay Records*, vol. xliii), who published a plan of the town and a drawing of the "Malwîyah."

[1] Felix Jones says the lower half of the statue was of black stone, "similar to those of Egypt," and that it was in the possession of Dr. Ross. *Bombay Records*, vol. xliii, p. 10.

the important Arab town of "Ḳâdisîyah of the Tigris,"[1] so called to distinguish it from the town of the same name on the edge of the desert, about five miles to the west of Kûfah on the Euphrates. Rich and some other travellers have confused the two towns, and stated that the great battle of A.H. 14 = A.D. 635 between the Arabs, under Sa'ad, and the Persians, under Rustum, was fought at Ḳâdisîyah of the Tigris instead of at Ḳâdisîyah near the Euphrates. There is no doubt that Rich was misled on this point, for the Arabic accounts[2] of the great three days' battle are quite definite about the matter. A modern German traveller[3] calls the reader's attention to this mistake of Rich and his copyists, and says that they followed Gibbon blindly in their error. But in his account of the "Battle of Cadesia" (chap. li, ed. Smith, vol. vi, p. 292) Gibbon makes no attempt to identify the geographical position of the "Plains of Cadesia." Moreover, he quotes the "Nubian geographer" who says that Ḳâdisîyah is "in margine solitudinis," sixty-one leagues from Bagdad and two stations from Cufa, and the French traveller Otter, who says it is fifteen leagues from Bagdad. Gibbon evidently thought the "plains of Cadesia" were on the edge of the desert, and not on *any* river. It was not Gibbon who confused the two towns of Ḳâdisîyah, but William Smith, his editor, who in his note says: "The ruins of Cadesia may be seen on both sides of the Tigris," and then quotes Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 471, in support of his statement.[4]

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[1] See Yâḳût, iv, pp. 7–9, and the Index in vol. vi, p. 168. Both Yâḳût and Abû 'l-Fidâ (p. 299) say that the town was famous for its coloured and decorated glass work.

[2] See Ibn al-Athîr, vol. ii, pp. 346–351, 375–377, 391–394 ff.; Bilâdhurî, ed. de Goeje, p. 225; and Mas'ûdî, vol. iv, p. 207 ff., and p. 224.

[3] Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golfes*, Berlin, 1900, vol. ii, p. 229 (note).

[4] If Gibbon had had access to the Syriac and Arabic histories and ecclesiastical works which are now available in the original texts and translations, there is no doubt that he would have modified some of his statements and supplemented others. Considering the limited

The ruins of Ḳâdisîyah on the Tigris were considerable, but the buildings which stood there were those of a frontier fortress rather than a town. Felix Jones examined the ruins carefully and found that the city wall had eight sides, and a round tower at each angle. It was built of bricks of the Sassanian period, 18 inches square and 5 inches thick, and was 25 feet high and originally 50 feet thick. A ditch 70 feet wide ran round the city *inside* the wall, and this was protected on the inner side by a mud rampart. Within the area enclosed by the wall was a wall running due north and south 1,240 paces long, and from this another wall 450 paces long ran due east. The palace or central building stood in an oblong enclosure 250 paces long from north to south, and 100 paces broad.[1]

A little below Ḳâdisîyah we passed on the west bank the mouth of the Dujêl Canal. At Ḳanâṭîr, *i.e.*, "the dams," were the remains of works connected with the great canal and of a bridge, and due south of it, on the west bank, were the remains of Ṣadd Nimrûd. These were identified by Felix Jones and others with the end of the "Median Wall" of Xenophon, which is said to have reached from the Euphrates to the Tigris. We passed Ḥûwai, Khân aṣ-Ṣu'êwîyah (formerly called Khân Mazrakjî), Tall Ḥusên, Balad, Ba'rûrah, Sayyid Muḥammad, Ḳubbat ash-Shawâlî, and many smaller villages, and then came, on the east bank, to the mouth of the river 'Adhêm. Here we tied up in order to pay a very hurried visit to the ruins called Tall Maḥassil. Everything we saw there was post-Christian, and Rich was undoubtedly correct in condemning the theory of

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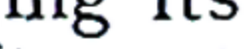
sources of native information that were available to him, his accounts of Oriental matters are singularly correct. In connection with this opinion, I would put on record a criticism which I heard Mommsen make on the Oriental part of Gibbon's history. He and A. S. Murray and I were discussing that point in Murray's house in Gower Street, and Mommsen said, "I once spent two years in verifying Gibbon's statements with the original authorities, and I found his accuracy in reproducing their evidence so great that it amounted almost to a vice."

[1] Felix Jones, *Bombay Records*, vol. xliii, p. 10.

Kinneir, which placed the ancient city of Ôpis on this spot. The ancient city of Ôpis, Ὦπις (Xenophon, Anabasis, ii, 4, §25) was certainly at the mouth of the Physcus (Φύσκος) river, but it lay on the west bank of the Tigris, and the mouth of the 'Adhêm river must have been some miles further to the south than it is to-day. Ôpis, the U-pi-i, or U-pi-e, or U-pu-a of the cuneiform inscriptions,[1] was a town of importance in the twelfth century before Christ, and the Tablet of Synchronous History says it was captured by Tiglath-Pileser I[e] (B.C. 1100). Sennacherib used it as a shipping base during his expeditions against the peoples of the Persian Gulf and the Elamites, but in Strabo's time (ii, 1, 26; xvi, 1, 9) it seems to have been little more than a village. The ruins of Manjûr, which lie two or three miles inland on the west bank, and consist of several mounds, probably mark the site of Ôpis. The downfall of the city was possibly brought about by the Tigris changing its bed.

After returning to our raft we floated on for a couple of hours more in semi-darkness, and just before we reached Zanbûr we saw two or three large camp fires on the west bank and several Arabs, some squatting by the fires and others standing up and holding "gas-pipe" guns in their hands. Some of the latter cried out and asked who we were, and the kalakjî shouted a reply, saying in effect, "English Consuls. Peace be upon you." In reply to this they shouted, "Liars! Stop, we fire." Our answer was, "Fire," as we floated on, and fire they did, and we heard their slugs strike the water near the raft. None of us was hit, but the slugs pierced several of the skins, and the raft at once took on an uncomfortable list. As the Arabs made no attempt to follow us we tied up at Sindîyah, where we found several caravans halting for the night. Some of

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[1]  (Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscr.*, vol. ii, pl. 53, l. 10); (*ibid.*, ii, pl. 65, l. 20); (*ibid.*, iii, pl. 12, No. 2, ll. 15 and 16); the sign *alu* means "town," or "city."

[2] Published by Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, ii, pl. 65.

abs from them brought us dates and milk and
ed much why we were loaded with "bricks and
' as they called our precious antiquities. A group
also came with two fishermen who were dragging
n a large basket an enormous fish which they
as "fit for kings." It was an enormous fish,
han five feet long, and very thick, and it had a
nouth. It resembled the large fish which I had
ne Barâbara catch with a net off the Island of
in the First Cataract in Egypt. The Arabs call
z," and Buckingham was correct when he said
's ii, p. 440) that one was large enough to form a
oad for an ass. I bought the whole fish for 18
s, and the caravan men were glad to take away
ir supper all but the few steaks from it which we
l and ate. The flesh had a slightly coarse taste,
formed a useful addition to our evening meal, and
h secured ùs the goodwill of the Arabs who ate it.
e left the following morning, March 3rd, as soon
e skins were repaired, and found that the river
sen during the night and that the current was very
. We floated on at a good pace and we determined,
ere possible, not to stop until we reached Baghdâd,
we hoped to do that afternoon. The wind was
for it blew from the east, but the sun was bright
ot, and we all enjoyed the journey that day. The
y on both banks of the river reminded me of
t, for we saw nothing but a succession of date-
palm groves, and large gardens and patches of cultivation stretching away from the river for a considerable distance. We passed many villages that were half hidden by palms, among which may be mentioned Sa'adîyah, Manṣûrîyah, Ḳuṣêrîyîn, with its splendid palms, Ṭarmîyah, with its canal, Al-Malluḥ, etc., on the east bank, and 'Awêjah and Farhâd on the west bank. Here and there, close to the bank, was a shêkh's tomb as in Egypt, and the most important shrines we saw were those of the Imâm Banât al-Ḥasan, Shêkh Jamîl, Beni 'Abbâs, and the Imâm 'Alî. Soon after noon we saw in the far distance, on the west bank, the cupolas

and minarets of Kâẓimên, and two hours later we passed them and saw the bridge of boats of Baghdâd. Almost immediately after this our kalakjî was hailed by two men on the east bank, and after a short conversation with them at the top of his voice he told me that they had been sent to watch for us by the British Consul-General, and that we were to tie up our raft at the landing-stage of the Residency. In due course we reached the opening in the bridge of boats through which we were to pass, and when the officials had inspected us they ordered us to go to the Custom House so that the raft might be searched for contraband, and the bricks and slabs and altar be taken over by them. At this point the Delegate interfered and informed them that he was the Mufattish (Inspector) of Antiquities for the provinces of Jazîrah, Môṣul and Baghdâd, and that Allah only knew what would happen to them in Jahannum if they touched a single brick. The bridge authorities did not in the least believe him, and sent a messenger to ask for instructions from the Mudîr of the bridge. Meanwhile the raft was held in the opening between the boats, as the tow rope had been twisted round a spar projecting from one of the boats, and was under the charge of a river policeman. Whilst I was paying the bridge dues, profiting by a hint from the kalakji, I gave a *bakhshîsh* to the policeman who promptly loosened the tow rope and threw it on the raft, which floated through the bridge, and in a very short time we came to the landing-stage of the Residency on the east bank and tied up there. Thus we travelled from Môṣul to Baghdâd, a distance of about 300 miles in six days, or, deducting the hours spent in sleep and sight-seeing, two and a half days, or sixty hours.

Baghdâd to London.

Almost before we were tied up two or three kawwâsah, *i.e.*, guards from the Consulate, followed by several servants, came running down the steps to help us disembark, and to tell us that the Baliôs Beg, or British Consul-General, had instructed them to take White and myself with our belongings up to the Residency. The Delegate asked that the raft with the antiquities upon it might remain by the landing-stage for the night, and, having committed it to the charge of the soldier who had accompanied us from Môṣul, he departed to report himself to the proper authorities. White and I then followed the servants with our baggage through the beautiful orange garden to the Residency, and just before we reached the entrance to it we were met by Colonel (now Sir) Adelbert Cecil Talbot, C.I.E., who was acting as British Consul-General during Colonel W. Tweedie's absence on leave. Colonel Talbot welcomed us most cordially, and said that he had rooms ready for us in the Residency, and that Mrs. Talbot was waiting to give us tea. Neither White nor myself needed a second invitation, and we accepted his offer gratefully, and followed him into Mrs. Talbot's sitting-room, where we were soon established in great comfort. Under the influence of her gracious words of welcome, ruins, dirt, dust, cold, and all the unpleasant incidents of a journey of 300 miles by raft were soon forgotten in the English home-like atmosphere of her room. Many hospitable and experienced "Mem Sâhibs" have graced the Residency at Baghdâd, but none could ever have taken more thought for the comfort of her weary guests than Mrs. Talbot did for ours. Colonel Talbot, himself an accomplished Persian scholar and linguist, took great interest in all Oriental archæological work, and during

my stay in Baghdâd in 1889 he did everything he could to help me.

During the year which had elapsed since my first visit to Baghdâd many changes had taken place among the British residents in the town. My friend Captain Butterworth, I.M., had been promoted and his successor on the "Comet" was Captain Dogherty, who cordially offered to help me in any way possible. Mr. Somerset, who had visited Babylon with me the previous year, had become captain of Lynch Bros.' "Khalifah," and we each enjoyed the renewal of our acquaintance. Mr. Alfred Holland had been selected to open up a new branch house for Lynch Bros. at Shushtar, and had gone to Baṣrah to prepare for his new duties. Mr. George Clarke, Lynch Bros.' manager, and his wife welcomed me with characteristic kindness, and Mr. Clarke assisted me in business matters as before. All the men who had helped me in 1888 seemed glad to meet me again, especially Mr. Dorabjî, the chief engineer of the "Comet," and old master-gunner Nelson, a delightful old Scotsman, who always wore a Tam o' Shanter, had porridge for breakfast, drank whisky with every meal, kept the Sabbath with great strictness and solemnity, and prayed to live long enough to see British guns bombarding Baghdâd. Under the genial and tactful influence of the Talbots the social atmosphere of the British colony was easier, and the relations with the merchants and the Turkish authorities in the Sarâyah were more friendly. As a proof of this I mention the fact that the new Wâlî Pâshâ of Baghdâd paid me a visit at the Residency and had a long conversation with me about the excavations and Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities. The Chaldean Patriarch called upon me also, and highly approved of my action in having copies made of ancient Syriac manuscripts, and he offered to lend me any of his manuscripts for this purpose.

But I was not in favour with the native dealers in Babylonian tablets, and they told me so openly. They had hoped that the collections of tablets which I had

bought from them the previous year would have been confiscated, and they were very angry with me for causing the tablets to leave Baghdâd in the "Comet," for they intended to buy them cheap from the Customs authorities and sell them again at a large profit. Three of them came to me and complained that in reporting the watchmen and their thefts from the Trustees' sites, and thus causing their dismissal, I had slandered and calumniated "poor but honest Christians," and they hinted that they would prosecute me in the courts of Baghdâd. Worst of all from their point of view, they said that in depriving these same "poor but honest Christians" of their official positions as watchmen and overseers employed by the British Government, I had destroyed their own chance of obtaining collections of tablets from the watchmen and so ruined their business. They then went on to say that as they could prove that I had destroyed their business, they could obtain heavy damages against me in the law courts, and most likely get me imprisoned, but they had so great an affection for me that they would rather lose everything they had in the world than cause me trouble. Since the day of their dismissal the world had become black to them, their cloaks were shame and their head cloths disgrace. If only I would telegraph to London and get them reinstated as watchmen and overseers, not only would the world become bright again and they would array themselves in joy and gladness, but they and their sons and grandsons would do business with me and my sons and my grandsons, and they would procure me such important tablets that my *ism* (renown) would reach to the ends of the world. I told them in answer to their threats and cajolings that they were at liberty to bring any action they pleased against me in the law courts of Baghdâd, but that it was far better business for them to bring to me the wonderful tablets of which they had spoken and let me buy them without delay. To this they said that they had no tablets to sell, for I had destroyed their business, and that even if they had they would sell them to anybody, French, Germans or

Americans, rather than to me. And so after uttering many dark threats as to legal processes and allusions as to the terrors of a Baghdâd prison they departed.

When these men left me I took with me the native who had been so useful to me the previous year and was waiting for me now, and went to see the dealers and what they had to sell. In many houses we found boxes of fragments of sun-dried contract tablets and business documents from Abû Ḥabbah, which were useless. During Mr. H. Rassam's excavations on that site his workmen discovered various chambers filled with sun-dried tablets, in number "between forty and fifty thousand."[1] Had these tablets been taken out and dried slowly in the sun all might have been brought unbroken to England, but the natives baked them in the fire with the terrible result that they either cracked in pieces or their inscribed surfaces flaked off. Several natives bought large quantities of these fragments at Abû Ḥabbah, and hoped to sell them, and were greatly disappointed when they found they could not do so. In one house I found a large collection containing many valuable tablets, which was offered to me on behalf of a highly-placed Baghdâd official. Most of the larger tablets were found in a chamber near the wall at Abû Ḥabbah, in which Rassam discovered the famous "Sun-god Tablet,"[2] and the inscriptions upon them were of a miscellaneous character. Besides these there was an odd object of baked clay, the like of which I had never seen. Its owner attached a high value to it, because he had shown it to a French savant in Baghdâd, who told him that it was an instrument used by the ancient Babylonian astronomers in making their calculations and forecasts, and who offered him a comparatively large sum of money for it. I did not share the opinion of the savant, although the inscriptions upon the object, which were arranged in squares, looked like tables of calculations. I feared at first that the object might be

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[1] *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, viii, p. 177.

[2] See his *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 401.

To face p. 124, *vol. ii.*



Clay model of a sheep's liver inscribed with omens and magical formulæ.

Brit. Mus., No. 92668.

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a forgery, for I had seen several forgeries that had been made by the Jews at Kâẓimên and they were very cleverly made, but after examining it for two days I felt sure that it was genuine, and as I knew it to be unique I decided to acquire it with the rest of the collection. Its shape and general appearance seemed strangely familiar to me, and at length I remembered that it closely resembled the plaster cast of a sheep's liver which I had seen in the hands of Canon Isaac Taylor. That cast was made from a bronze original inscribed in Etruscan, which had been found near Piacenza in 1877, and had been sent to him so that he might attempt to decipher the inscription. Taylor came to the conclusion that the bronze original was the model of a sheep's liver, and that it belonged to a temple and was used by the extispex or priest whose duty it was to inspect the livers of the sheep that were offered up as sacrifices, and to predict events from their appearances. Taylor brought the cast to the British Museum hoping to find evidence to support his view, and he showed it to Franks, Birch and myself. The more I thought about it the more I became convinced that the object from Abû Ḥabbah was the model of a sheep's liver which had been used for purposes of divination, and I bought the whole collection and made arrangements to take it with me to London.[1]

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[1] When Taylor saw the Babylonian model he felt convinced that it represented a sheep's liver, and rejoiced in its acquisition by the British Museum; but Assyriologists were sceptical about the correctness of his identification, though they had no proofs to the contrary. In 1898 the Trustees of the British Museum published a photographic reproduction of the liver and a transcript of the texts on it in *Cuneiform Texts*, part vi, pll. 1, 2, and so made it available for general study. The following year M. A. Boissier published his "Note sur un Monument Babylonien se rapportant à l'Extispicine," and proved beyond all doubt that the object was a model of a sheep's liver, and that it had been made with the purpose of giving instruction in the art of divining from the appearances of the livers of sheep. A year later he published a further "Note sur un nouveau Document Babylonien se rapportant à l'Extispicine," and proved that the object in the Kuyûnjiḳ Collection (Rm. 620), which Bezold described in the official *Catalogue* (vol. iv, p. 1628) as "part of model of an ox's hoof in clay," was in

In another house I examined a second fine collection of early Babylonian tablets, which came from the same place and were of the same period as those which I bought in 1888. These also I bought at a reasonable price, and when the time for paying for them arrived I found that they belonged to the three former watchmen of the Trustees, who had vowed they would never sell me any more tablets. They were most anxious for me to take the tablets with me, and they said that they still regarded themselves as servants of the British Government though the Mijlis (*i.e.*, the Committee of the Trustees) no longer paid them for their devoted services! They said they knew of the existence of other large collections of tablets, and that if I could stay in Baghdâd for three months they would bring me enough tablets to load one of Lynch's steamers. Of course they exaggerated, but I was sure that there were many hundreds of fine tablets buried in the basements of houses in Baghdâd and Ḥillah, and that £5,000 would have bought them all. I greatly regretted that I had not the necessary money, especially as the general feeling of the town towards the English was very friendly. The Wâlî Pâshâ and Colonel Talbot were on good terms, many difficulties between the Residency and the Sarâyah had been smoothed out, and the fact that the Wâlî Pâshâ had called upon me and that I was at the Residency as a fellow-guest with the son of the British Ambassador, caused officials of all kinds quietly to relax their rules and regulations in my favour. In one of my conversations with the Wâlî Pâshâ I told him about the altar of Sargon II and the bricks and bas-reliefs which I had brought down with the Delegate from Môṣul, and he gave orders that no obstacle was to be placed in the way of their leaving Baghdâd. When the time came for me to depart the Customs' officers came and looked at the objects and asked me a few

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reality part of another model of a liver. The texts on the liver bought at Baghdâd date from the period of Khammurabi, about B.C. 2000. Similar models with Babylonian inscriptions were found by Winckler at Boghaz Kiöi in 1907. See Jastrow, Jr., *Bildermappe*, coll. 72, 73.

questions, and when they had received a little present for their trouble they withdrew, and I had no further bother until I reached Baṣrah. Colonel Talbot's influence was very great, and old Ya'ḳûb Thaddeus, the great authority on British prestige in Baghdâd, told me that if he were to stay in Baghdâd he would make things to be as they were in the days of the great Baliôs Beg, who was, of course, Rawlinson.

Having acquired all the tablets I had money to pay for, I made a little journey to the mounds on the Dîyâlâ river where the natives had found some tablets and several small terra-cotta figures and bronzes, all of which were in a poor state of preservation. I acquired a selection from the "find," and took the objects to Baghdâd and arranged for them to be sent to London, where they would be paid for.

Meanwhile the Delegate did not find Baghdâd an enjoyable place to live in, and he was anxious to leave it. White also found nothing to do in the town, and the heat, for the weather had suddenly become very hot, caused him acute discomfort. I discussed with Colonel Talbot the possibility of returning to London viâ Tudmur (Palmyra) and Damascus, which latter city I was most anxious to see, but he would not allow me to attempt the journey. The Jabûr and Shammar tribes were fighting their neighbours and raiding caravans, and the whole country north of Dêr az-Zûr was in a very unsettled state. Even the Government *tattarîyîn* or postal couriers had to be provided with escorts. Matters were no better on the banks of the Tigris than they were on the banks of the Khâbûr and Euphrates, for about this time the Hamawand and other Kurdish tribes held up and pillaged a caravan of 300 camels, although provided with a military escort, within sight of the town of Karkûk,[1] where there was a large Turkish

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[1] A town on the left bank of the Hasa Su, about 190 miles north of Baghdâd on the main road between Baghdâd and Môṣul. The name "Karkûk" is well known in Syriac under the form ܟܪܟܘܟ

garrison. Whilst the pillage of the caravan was in process, the Baghdâd postman with his men and armed escort rode up and attempted to drive off the Hamawand. But the robbers killed some of them and wounded others and the rest took to flight, leaving their twenty mules, which were laden with the Baghdâd mail, in the hands of the Hamawand. These bold thieves unloaded the mules, "went through" the "value-parcels" and registered packets, and took out all the money and valuables and silks. They next examined the bags of letters and burnt all those that were addressed in Arabic or Turkish. The letters with addresses in English handwriting they put back in the bags, for they did not want trouble with the British or Indian Government. These things they did in daylight, within two miles of Karkûk, and the Turkish governor, it was said, made no attempt to stop them. There may have been exaggeration in the details of the story which drifted south to

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and is a contraction of its ancient name ܟܪܟܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܣܠܘܟ, Karkhâ dhĕ Bêth Sĕlôkh, which is commonly met with in Syriac Martyrologies and Chronicles. (See Hoffmann, *Auszuge*, p. 43; Budge, *Book of Governors*, vol. ii, pp. 81, 91, 245, and the authorities quoted in the notes.) The remains of the ancient city, which must have been there in the days of Darius and his successors, lie in the great hill on the top of which the citadel now stands. It was a great centre of Western Persian Christianity, and many churches were built there during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries; a hill near the town is still pointed out as the place where an untold number of Christians suffered martyrdom. None of the Arab geographers mention the town, possibly because in their time it was entirely a Christian town. The Muslims of Karkûk have graves in the Mosque of 'Alî which they say contain the bodies of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and several late apocryphal works state that the "Three Children" are buried there. The Ethiopian Church commemorates them on the second day of the month Takhshâsh (November 28th), and the section of the *Synaxarium* which is read on that day summarizes their history. Mr. Wigram gives a photographic reproduction of the Mosque of 'Abd al-Ḳâdar, a Kurdish shêkh of such surpassing sanctity and zeal for Islâm that 'Abd al-Ḥamîd used to correspond with him in a private cipher, and "was accustomed to ask by telegraph for his prayers, whenever he was meditating anything exceptionally black." (*Cradle of Mankind*, p. 343.)

Baghdâd, but there was no doubt that the Government had lost control of the nomads and that whole flocks of sheep were frequently carried away by them. Therefore to return to Europe by the Tigris and Constantinople was out of the question for us. Finally we decided to go to Baṣrah by Messrs. Lynch's steamer and take the British India Mail Steamer to Bombay and return by P. & O. steamer to Plymouth or London. The Delegate wished to go to Baṣrah and to sail from there direct to Egypt, where he could embark for Constantinople, but this route, owing to the irregularity of merchant steamers at that time of the year, would have prolonged our journey many weeks. Whilst we were debating this proposal a telegram arrived from Sir William White who wished his son to see Karachi and Bombay, and this settled the matter. I was glad that he had decided thus, for going to Bombay would enable me to travel the whole way to England with my boxes of tablets and manuscripts. I therefore left sufficient money with Colonel Talbot to pay the Delegate's travelling expenses to Stambûl and two months' salary in addition to that of the current month, and left him in Baghdâd to make his own arrangements for return there. On March 7th White and I bade our most kind host and hostess good-bye, and were sent in the Residency boat to the s.s. "Khalifah" with all our belongings, including the tablets and manuscripts. Many members of the little British colony in Baghdâd came to see us safely on board, and the civility of the Customs' officials was in marked contrast to their behaviour in the previous year. It seemed to me that most Turkish rules and regulations were specially made to be broken—on payment by the breaker!

Captain Somerset weighed anchor at 6.30 a.m. on March 8th, and the "Khalifah" nosed her way between huge lighters and a couple of Turkish river steamers out into the stream. A strong hot south wind was blowing, but in spite of this we travelled at the rate of 11 knots an hour until about 5.30 p.m. when we ran head on to a shoal and stuck very fast. Whilst the crew were

casting out ropes and hauling on them to get the ship afloat we watched the natives on the bank emptying their fish-traps. These are square enclosures of reed mats fastened to pegs driven in the river near the bank, and have an entrance on one side only. This entrance is through a hollow cone of reeds with the smaller end inside the trap. The fish swim in through the large end, which faces up-stream, and having pushed their way through the loosely made smaller end are unable to return, and are caught in the trap. After two hours' hard work, and darkness having fallen, we tied up for the night. We got afloat at five the next morning (March 9th) and steamed till sunset when we tied up for the night. We reached 'Amârah at 1.30 p.m. on Sunday, March 10th, and left again at 3 p.m., and as there were some bends in the river ahead of us which could only be safely negotiated by daylight, we tied up early. We started again at daybreak and lost some time in getting round a bend or "elbow"; it formed almost a right angle, and the ship had to be warped round it with guiding ropes held by some of the crew on each bank. We passed Ḳurnah, the so-called "Garden of Eden," at 11.50 a.m., and arrived at Baṣrah at 3.35, March 11th. Baṣrah is about 300 miles from Baghdâd by direct route, and 510 miles by river; the s.s. "Khalifah" covered this distance in a little over forty-three hours.

On my arrival I found Mr. Alfred Holland waiting for me, and with him was Mr. W. A. Buchanan, who had rendered me such great assistance in shipping my boxes of tablets the year before, and was ready to help me again. I handed over to him the boxes and manuscripts which I had brought down the river with me, and he and Captain Somerset helped me to get them on board the s.s. "Arabia," the British India Mail Steamer. Mr. Robertson, the British Consul of Baṣrah, of whom I have already spoken (see vol. 1, p. 167), invited White and myself to stay with him at the Consulate, but White preferred to be free from the restraint of the British Consul's house, and asked me to find him a lodging

elsewhere for the four or five days which we had to spend in Baṣrah. Mr. Buchanan again came to our assistance, and found him a comfortable room with adequate attendance. As soon as this arrangement was made I transferred myself and my baggage to Mr. Robertson's house, and found that Mrs. Robertson and her two children were there, having recently arrived from England. During the very delightful days I spent there I made two short excursions to the Old Town, which lies about nine miles from Baṣrah Creek, and traced the course of the ancient canal which ran round three sides of the city. On March 12th Mr. Alfred Holland left Baṣrah for Shushtar, and before he went he promised me to collect all the information he could about the ruins of Susa, and about routes to Mâl al-Amîr[1] and other places where Persian cuneiform inscriptions were graven on the rocks. A fellow-guest at that time in the Consulate was Captain Lindsay, a great gunnery expert, then commanding H.M.S. "Kingfisher," which was lying in the river. He invited me to his ship and his officers showed me much civility.

On the following Friday (March 15th) I made arrangements to transfer the altar of Sargon II from the s.s. "Khalifah" to the mail steamer the "Arabia." Just when we had got it on to a lighter the Turkish governor sent over an officer from the barracks who ordered me to replace it on the "Khalifah," as he intended to send it back to Baghdâd. I went and saw the governor and explained how the altar had come into my possession, and that the Delegate had agreed to my taking it, and the Wâlî Pâshâ of Baghdâd had permitted me to take it with me. In proof of my statement I showed him the *raftîyah*,[2] but he waved this aside politely, and said that the exportation of

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[1] The chief town of Great Lur in Khûzistân; its ancient name was Îdhaj. Here stood the great stone bridge over the Dujêl which was held to be one of the wonders of the world. See Guy le Strange, *Lands*, p. 245.

[2] رَفْتِيَّة the Customs' permit to export merchandise.

antiquities was prohibited by the Ministry of Instruction in Stambûl, and that the altar being an antiquity could not therefore leave the country. Moreover, he had received information from Baghdâd that the altar had been taken from the place which the French excavated many years before, and though he was willing to do anything for the English he dared not risk giving offence to the French Consul in Baghdâd. We talked and talked and drank innumerable cups of coffee, and finally he said that he personally wished me to take the altar, and that he would see what he could do, and would send me a message in the afternoon. A few hours later his message arrived, and it took the form of a native scribe, who produced a document written in French stating that he was empowered to treat with me about the altar. He said that much time had been wasted and many words spoken, and that he was a man of business. The French, he said, could not prove that the altar was theirs, on the other hand, neither could I. The governor was certain that a huge, ugly block of stone was no use in Stambûl, and would take upon himself to give it to me personally if I really cared for such things. But there were certain enemies of the governor in Baṣrah who would certainly misrepresent his generosity to me, and might write to the Porte even, and make accusations against him. To such people presents would have to be made if I took the altar away, but if I would give him a draft on one of the English merchants for so many pounds Turkish, he would distribute them in such a way that everyone would be satisfied. I exclaimed at the considerable sum of money he mentioned, whereupon he halved it. But even so the altar was not worth that to the British Museum, for the Trustees already possessed an altar of Ashur-naṣir-pal, which was not only of the same size and shape of that of Sargon, but was about 150 years older. I therefore abandoned the altar of Sargon II and it was taken back to Baghdâd, where it remained for several years in the Custom House; what became of it later I know not.

White and I embarked on the s.s. "Arabia" on Friday night, March 15th, and early on the 16th we dropped down to Muḥammarah, where we saluted the shêkh and stayed for a few hours; we anchored just off the Kârûn river, and the ship was visited by a crowd of natives from the neighbourhood of Ahwâz. They walked along the decks speechless, either with fear or admiration, and touched or handled everything they saw. Their costumes though picturesque were very scanty, and I noted that many of the men went with their right shoulder uncovered. I was told that they were representatives of the tribes who lived on the banks of the Kârûn, and had undertaken to prevent their wild neighbours from obstructing the steamers which had begun to run up to Ahwâz,[1] and from pillaging the Persian merchants who brought merchandise for shipment to Baṣrah. Before the days of steamers on the Kârûn it frequently happened that the way-dues levied by the tribes on merchants were more than the total value of the camels and their bales together. We reached Fâw at 4 p.m., and as it was low tide on the "bar" we hove to until Sunday morning, the 17th. Just after we started again we passed the H.M.I.M.S. "Lawrence," with Colonel Ross and his wife and family on board. We left Bushire on the 18th and arrived at Linjah on the 20th, where we were delayed for nearly a day. In some very artful way which I did not understand, a party of natives managed to get away in the dark with a boat containing 150 bags of rice, whilst their confederates on board were quarrelling with the ship's officer about the number he had tallied. The importer of the rice swore that only two boatloads had left the ship, but several of the passengers had seen three drift away, and the officer

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[1] The decree of the Persian Government which threw the Kârûn open to steam navigation was promulgated in May, 1888, and took effect the following October. Messrs. Lynch provided a fortnightly service of steamers to Ahwâz, with a subsidy from the British Government.

called a crew together and went off in one of the ship's boats in search of the missing bags of rice. He found the boatload of rice without much difficulty, and said when he returned to the "Arabia," that he had taken advantage of the growing darkness and of his captain's absence to teach the thieves a lesson. Judging by the state of his knuckles and of his clothes generally the lesson which he taught the thieves was not taught with his tongue only.

We reached Bandar 'Abbâs on the 21st, and as soon as the ship anchored we found the heat very great. The sea was like oil, and a heavy stifling evil-smelling mist hung over it; under a double awning on deck the thermometer marked 151° F. We left in the early evening, and as we steamed eastward saw many signs of an approaching storm. The little waves made by the bow of the ship were crested with brilliant light, and for a mile or two astern the waters churned by the propeller assumed the appearance of a lane of many-coloured splendours. Captain Simpson took us up on the bridge and showed us the lines of sparkling fire in the sea which the dolphins made as they raced round and round the ship. He told us that we were passing through a part of the Gulf of 'Ummân that was famous for electrical disturbance at certain times of the year, and that we were running into a violent storm. The crew were at that moment making things taut on the bow of the ship, and as they dragged the chains about, every time these touched each other, they emitted sparks. At 9 p.m. the storm broke upon us, and there seemed to be nothing in the world except the ship and lightning and thunder. Little flames leaped from the stanchions as the chains struck them, and the wire ropes of the masts became lines of fire. It was an awesome sight, and it impressed the Chinese carpenter and his friends so much that they stopped playing cards and cheating each other. The air was a little cooler the next morning, but there was a smell in it that was choking and unpleasant.

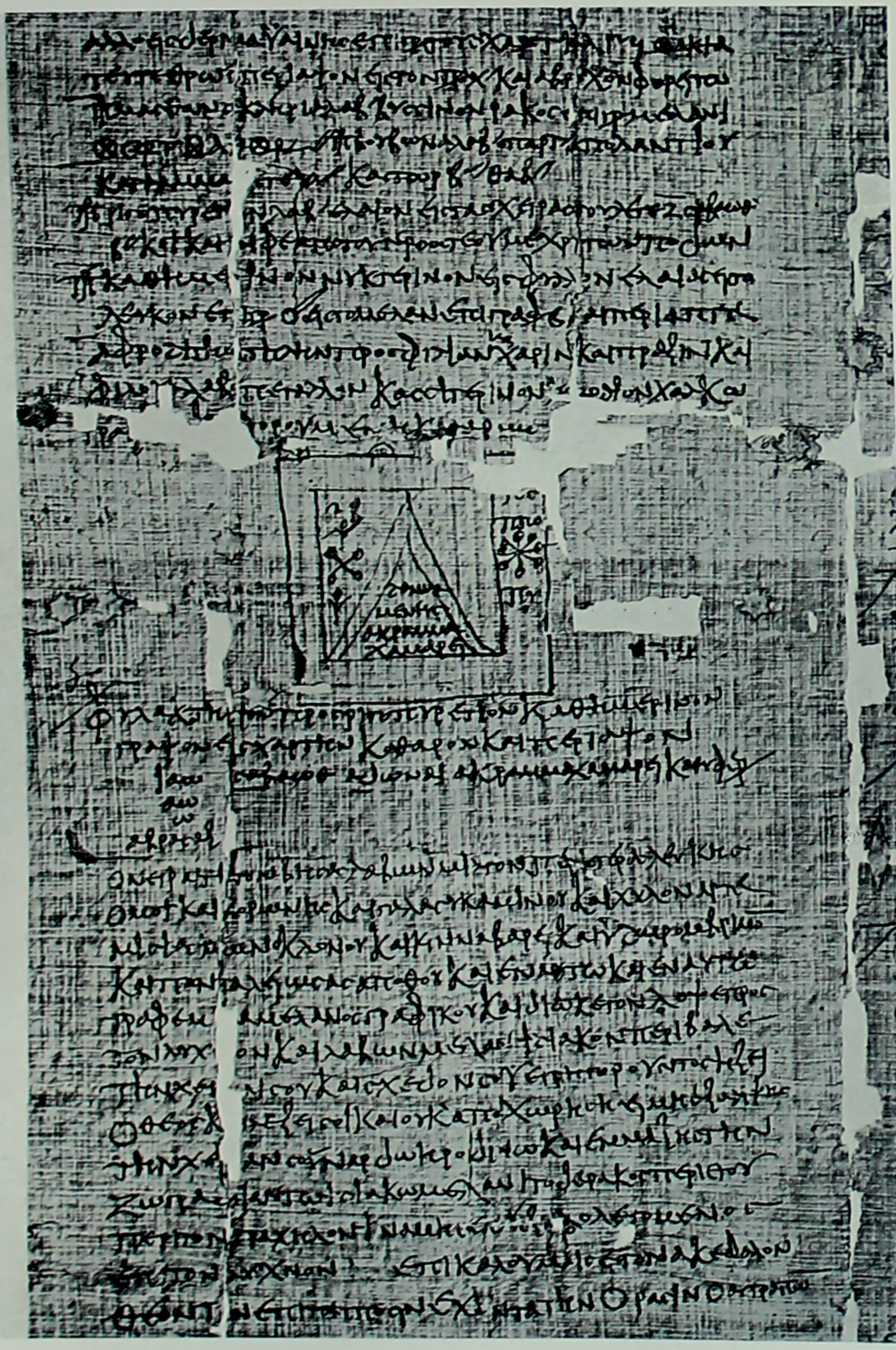
We reached Gwadar on the 23rd at 5 p.m., and the

captain received a telegram from shore ordering him to await the arrival of Mr. Crawford, H.M.'s Commissioner for Baluchistân. The captain waited for twenty-seven hours and then departed, the Commissioner arrived two hours later, and we heard subsequently had to wait six days for the next steamer. We were all thankful to leave Gwadar, for the heat was suffocating.

We reached Karachi at daylight on the 26th, and I went up into the town to see Mr. Mackenzie, the Director of Indo-European Telegraphs, and he showed me much kindness. We left Karachi at 3.45 p.m. on the 27th, four hours late, feeling very doubtful about catching the homeward Indian mail which was to leave Bombay on the 29th. Among our passengers for Bombay was Captain Hobday, who brought on board two terriers and two beautiful horses. It was quite clear that he and the horses were fast friends, and he spent many hours of the day in talking to them and petting them; and they returned his affection with all their loyal hearts. In running from Karachi to Bombay, about 500 miles, we were caused much loss of time by the small native coast boats which seemed to be everywhere. Their owners were in the habit of drifting along without showing lights, and as often as not all the occupants of the boats were fast asleep. Our siren was going at frequent intervals the whole night long, and the look-out Indian must have been tired of beating his gong and shouting "Hum dekta hai." We dropped anchor in Bombay Harbour at 3.45 p.m. on the 29th, and I found that I had only seventy-five minutes in which to get tickets for White and myself from the P. & O. offices in the city, and to transport our personal baggage and the tablets and manuscripts to the mail steamer, which was timed to leave at 5 p.m. Captain Simpson himself took the tablets to the mail steamer, the s.s. "Oriental," and to my great relief my old friend, Captain Butterworth, appeared in his launch at the foot of the gangway ladder and gave me help most opportunely. He had received promotion during the past year, and was then living with his wife in tents pitched on the

shore close to the sea. Meanwhile, White had insisted on taking charge of his baggage, saying that he would find his own way to the mail steamer. During our journey from Karachi he said he wanted to spend some weeks in India, and asked me to draw a bill on his father and provide him with funds; this I declined to do, as Sir William White asked me not to leave him behind in India. Captain Butterworth took such steps as were necessary to prevent White missing the steamer, and he appeared in a native boat on the stroke of five, and he and his baggage were hauled up whilst the ship was being cast loose from her moorings. There was a very large number of passengers on board, and we all took the greatest interest in the "Oriental," which was a new ship, and was making her maiden voyage to England. We arrived at Aden on April 4th in the morning, and transferred the Indian mail to the "Arcadia" which was carrying the Australian and China mails. We had a very fine passage to Suez, where we arrived on the 7th at 4 p.m., and here White left me. Sir William White had wired to Mr. Hamilton Lang, who at that time held an appointment in Cairo, and asked him to meet the "Oriental" at Suez and relieve me of the charge of his son.

By special arrangement with the P. & O. agent Mr. Hamilton Lang came off to the "Oriental" and took White ashore with him. I heard subsequently that, in accordance with the wishes of Sir William White and the plans which he had made as to his son's disposal, at Sir William's request Mr. Hamilton Lang travelled with him that same evening to Alexandria viâ Banhâ, and escorted him to an American liner on which the "Blue-Peter" was hoisted. He then handed to White his tickets for the journey by sea and land to Manitoba, and a sum of money, and a few hours later the liner sailed, not, as White had expected, for Constantinople, but America. We passed through the Suez Canal in twenty hours of actual steaming and reached Port Sa'îd in the morning of April 8th. During the coaling I went on shore and met by appointment



A column of text and a magical design from a Greek magical papyrus.
Brit. Mus., Pap. No. 121, col. 6

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some natives who brought me several hieroglyphic and Greek papyri, and I made arrangements for these to follow me to England. We arrived at Marseilles on the 13th and stayed a day there. We left the following morning and arrived at Gibraltar on Tuesday morning. In obedience to some special order which the captain received there we left in two hours, and, thanks to the calm state of the Bay of Biscay, which was literally "like a mill-pond," we passed the Eddystone Lighthouse at dawn on Friday April 19th, and soon after reached Plymouth, where I left the ship. The "Oriental" was a very fine and comfortable ship, and as she had made the journey from Bombay to London in record time, her captain, officers and passengers warmly congratulated each other and themselves.

Mr. P. Le Page Renouf, Keeper of the Department, submitted a detailed account of my Mission to the Trustees at their meeting, May 11th, and was so good as to report "that the duties of the delicate and most arduous task imposed upon Mr. Budge have been discharged with the same intelligent ability and discretion which had so signally distinguished the efficiency of his work in former Missions." And the Trustees "approved" his report.

The material results of the Mission were:

I. 210 tablets and fragments, and miscellaneous objects from Ḳuyûnjiḳ.
II. 1,500 tablets, 49 cylinder-seals, etc., from Abû Ḥabbah and Dêr.
III. 3 rolls of papyrus inscribed on both sides in Greek. On the backs of these rolls was the copy of Aristotle's Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, the publication of which has brought such fame to the Trustees of the British Museum, and the editor, Sir F. G. Kenyon, K.C.B.
IV. Various rolls of papyrus containing portions of the Iliad, magical texts, etc.
V. 3 hieroglyphic papyri.

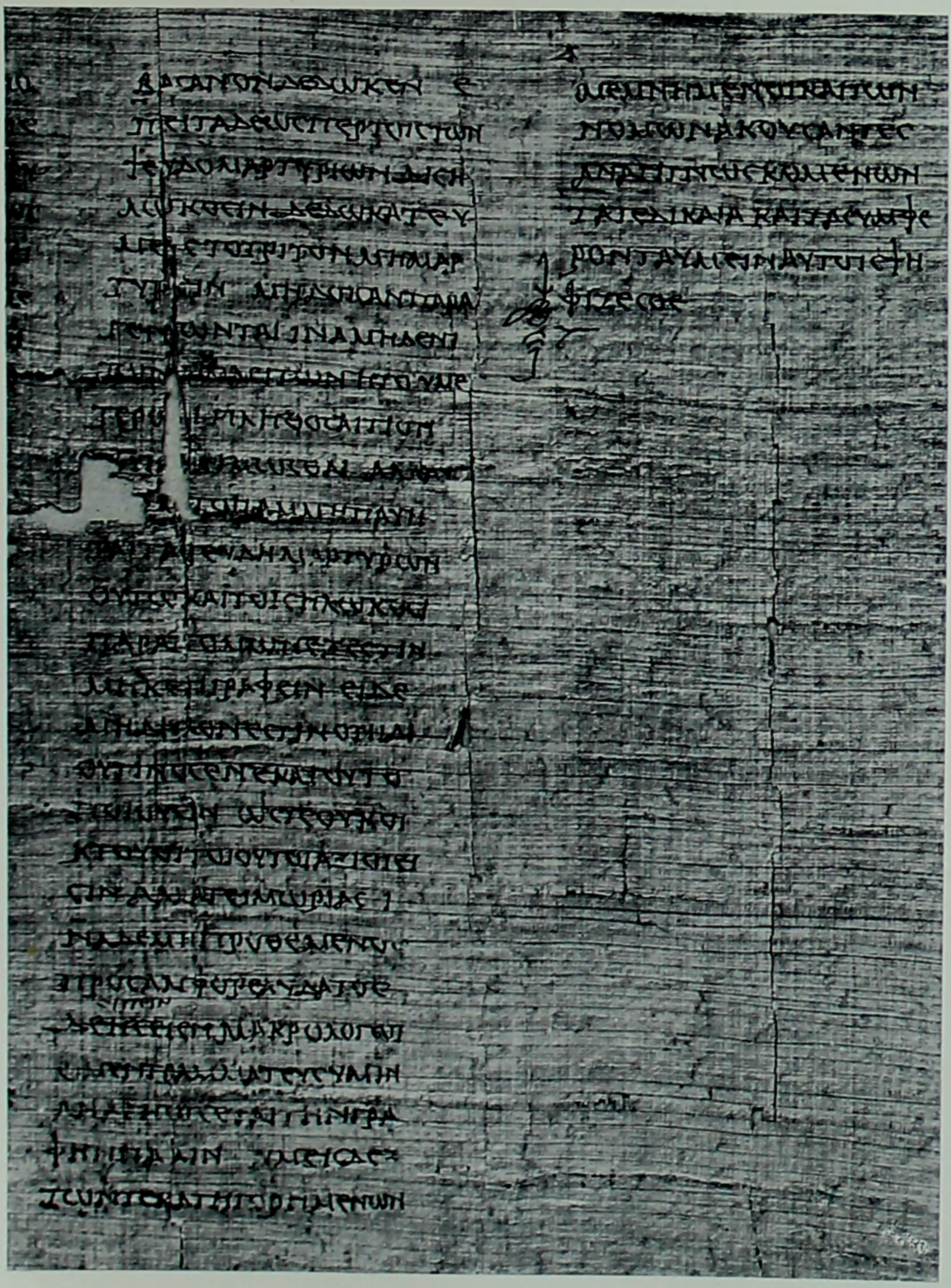
VI. 52 Arabic and Syriac manuscripts from Môṣul and the neighbourhood.[1] These included "the following rare and curious works":

1. A commentary by al-Nawawi, who died A.H. 676, on the Ṣaḥîḥ of Mushim, fourteenth century.
2. Akhbâr al-Duwal al-Munḳaṭi'ah, a general history by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alî ibn Ẓâfir, who died A.H. 623.
3. Kalâ'id al-'Ikyân, notices of Spanish poets, by Ibn Khâḳân, who died A.H. 539.
4. A volume of the Canon of Avicenna, of the twelfth or thirteenth century.
5. Jâmi'al-Gharaḍ, a treatise on hygiene, by Ibn al-Ḳuff, who died A.H. 685; manuscript of the fourteenth century.
6. Commentary of Ibn Hishâm al-Sibti, who died A.H. 557, on the Maḳṣûrah of Ibn Duraid; dated A.H. 731 = A.D. 1331.

In the autumn of 1889 the Principal Librarian suggested to Mr. Le Page Renouf, Keeper of the Department, that he should send in a report to the Trustees recommending that my salary be raised to the maximum of my Class, and pointed out to him that in 1875 the salary of George Smith, who had done work similar to mine in Mesopotamia, had been raised to the maximum of his Class. Mr. Renouf accepted the suggestion cordially, and in his report on the subject wrote as follows: Mr. Renouf considers "that it is a piece of rare and extreme good fortune for the Museum to have in its service a person who so thoroughly

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[1] British Museum, Nos. Oriental 4051–4102. Dr. Wright advanced the money for the payment for these manuscripts, and arranged with Dr. Rieu, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts, to hand them over to the British Museum when funds became available. Dr. Wright died before the arrangement could be carried out, and the manuscripts were despatched to the Museum by his widow. I mention this to explain the official entry in the Register that the manuscripts were purchased from Mrs. Wright.



Two columns of the Greek text of the Oration of Hyperides against Philippides.
Brit. Mus., Pap. No. 134, cols. 8 and 9.

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understands the languages and the archæology of all the objects belonging to the multifarious branches of this Department, and is at the same time gifted with some of the finest qualifications for a negotiator and an administrator." The Trustees approved the report and applied for Treasury sanction to give it effect. In a letter dated November 27th the Treasury authorized the raising of my salary to the maximum of the Second Class (£240) " in recognition of his ability and attainments and the exceptional value of the services rendered by him to the British Museum."

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FOURTH MISSION, 1890—91.

LONDON TO BAGHDÂD

VIÂ EGYPT, BÊRÛT, DAMASCUS, AND MÔṢUL.

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FOURTH MISSION.

London to Damascus viâ Egypt.

The greater number of the tablets which I acquired in Baghdâd in 1899 arrived at the British Museum during the week following my return to duty on April 22nd, and Rawlinson came and inspected them and passed much time in examining their contents. As regards the tablets from Ḳuyûnjiḳ he was of opinion that all the letters and grammatical fragments ought to be published, and the fact that such tablets were still to be found in the mound there made him determined to recommend the continuance of excavations on the site. He believed that the tablets inscribed with astronomical and mathematical and magical texts and omens came from Abû Ḥabbah, and thought it very important that the Trustees should take steps to secure all the other parts of the group which were either under the ground there or in the hands of the dealers in Baghdâd. He was specially interested in the fine, large Babylonian case-tablets, which helped to complete the series which I obtained at Dêr the previous year, for he thought that they came from a site which had not been previously excavated. The net result of his examination of the whole collection was that he suggested to his fellow-Trustees (1) to continue the excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ for another year, and (2) to apply to the Porte for a new permit, of a more liberal character than that issued for Ḳuyûnjiḳ, to excavate Dêr and some half dozen of the neighbouring sites. The Keeper of the Department having consulted two distinguished foreign Assyriologists, warmly supported Rawlinson's views in his report to the Trustees on my Third Mission, and they resolved to ask the Foreign Office to apply to the Porte for a permit to excavate several sites in Babylonia and for more generous terms

for the excavator. The Foreign Office applied to the Porte for the permit (through the British Ambassador, Sir William White), but reminded the Trustees at the same time that Sir William had written in November, 1887, saying that diplomatic representations would not succeed in obtaining permits of an exceptional character. Early in July a dispatch was received from Sir William White, who stated that in his opinion it was undesirable to attempt to obtain a special permit to excavate in Mesopotamia. He went on to say that Mr. Consul Wrench had had a conversation with Ḥamdî Bey on the subject, and that he had promised to do what he could to forward the interests of the British Museum. And he also said he would take steps to secure the appointment of a more suitable Delegate to accompany the excavator and to watch his work. No complaint had been made by the Trustees about the unsuitability of the Delegate who had been sent with me for his task, and as I had feared that he might be sent with me a second time I had made no comment upon it. The Minister of Public Instruction was disappointed at the behaviour of his nominee, and told Ḥamdî Bey that he would not employ him again as a Delegate to watch the interests of the Turkish Government.

In the last week of July the Principal Librarian received an answer to a letter which he had sent to Mr. Consul Wrench concerning the probability of the Trustees obtaining a permit to excavate. Mr. Wrench described in detail the conversation which he had had with Ḥamdî Bey, and then suggested that the Trustees should make an application for a permit for two years, and state in it the names of the sites which they wished to excavate and the order in which they proposed to excavate them. This application must be accompanied by a detailed description of the situation of each site, and of the parts of each that were to be excavated, and a map of each site must be appended. It must be distinctly understood that no two sites could be excavated simultaneously, and the application for the permit must be addressed to the Ministry of Public

Instruction, Constantinople. The Trustees discussed the matter, and ordered the Principal Librarian and Rawlinson to make all arrangements for resuming the excavations. I submitted to Rawlinson a list of the "Tulûl" or "mounds" which I thought would repay excavating, and when he had supplemented it with the names of other mounds well known to him, a petition for a permit was drawn up and sent to the Foreign Office on August 14th. In September Sir William White wrote saying that he had applied for a permit in writing and verbally and that he was hopeful of obtaining an ordinary permit. To apply for anything else just then would be to court disaster, though the Minister of Public Instruction viewed the petition favourably. Early in December another dispatch was received from Sir William White, who reported that the Delegate who had been with me at Môṣul was causing trouble at the Porte, but as the Grand Wazîr was in favour of granting the permit, he hoped to get it in due course. He pointed out that the season of the year was unfavourable for excavating, and that cholera was just then very prevalent in Mesopotamia, and he recommended the postponement of the proposed excavations.

Late in January, 1890, the Foreign Office transmitted a dispatch from Sir William White announcing that the Porte had refused to accede to the Trustees' application for a permit to make tentative excavations in Mesopotamia. The Turkish Government refused on the grounds that the Turkish regulations concerning the excavations of ancient sites did not allow excavations to be made, however superficially, at several places at the same time; and they thought that any exception to this rule would be a bad precedent and would lead to many inconveniences. When Rawlinson had read the dispatch he asked me to put in writing any suggestions I could make, and after talking the matter over with him I proposed that application should be made for a permit to excavate Dêr, such permit to date from the expiration of the permit which

we then had for Ḳuyûnjiḳ. I thought it most important to obtain this permit, for I was certain that thousands of tablets were lying there, and that if we did not excavate the site the natives would do so,[1] and, of course, destroy many tablets in the process. Whether we obtained the permit or not it was necessary for me to return to Môṣul in order to bring away the tablets which had been recovered from Ḳuyûnjiḳ since I left the town in February of the previous year. I was certain too that the men I had sent into the Tiyârî country would make a good haul of Arabic and Syriac manuscripts for me, and that there was much at Baghdâd which we ought to secure. Rawlinson approved of these suggestions and discussed them with the other Trustees on February 8th, and an application for a permit for Dêr was forwarded to the Porte, through the British Ambassador, in due course.

The success of the application was jeopardized by some rumours which were circulated at Stambûl about this time by certain malicious persons. Some clandestine excavations had been made at Toprak Kalé at Wân during the winter and a whole gateway of great archæological interest had been removed. The local authorities at Wân reported the theft to Ḥamdî Bey, and rumours reached him to the effect that it had been perpetrated by natives who were incited to undertake the work by me. Excavations had been made at Wân by Captain Clayton, R.E., the British Vice-Consul at Wân, and Mr. H. Rassam in 1881,[2] but their permit had long since expired, and I had never been to Wân and saw little chance of going there. The Assyrians were masters for a time of the whole country in which Wân lies, and which they called "Urartu," and the results of Captain Clayton's small excavation proved that Assyrian remains were to be found there, but my interest at that time was exclusively in Ḳuyûnjiḳ and

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[1] In October, 1889, the Trustees purchased the collection of tablets, nearly 700 in number, which I saw in Baghdâd the previous year; most of them came from Dêr.

[2] See *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, pp. 244-6.

Dêr. Early in May dispatches were received from the Vice-Consul at Wân and the Consul for Kurdistân stating that the Turkish authorities at Wân had stopped the excavations which unauthorized persons had been carrying on there. When these persons were questioned they said they were only digging out for building purposes the stones which they were told they might keep for themselves by the British Vice-Consul when they were digging for him in 1880 and 1881. The Trustees withdrew all claims to the uninscribed stones, and informed the Foreign Office that if possible I would visit Wân and report upon the site generally.

In June the Keeper of the Department received a private letter from Sir William White stating that the application for the permit to excavate Dêr had passed certain stages, and that he did not anticipate any serious difficulty in obtaining the permit. The Keeper reported the receipt of this letter to the Trustees on June 14th, and recommended that an application be made to the Treasury for funds sufficient to finish the work at Ḳuyûnjiḳ and to excavate Dêr. Application was made to the Lords of the Treasury in due course, and the Trustees received their sanction for the expenditure on July 8th.

And here I must break the trend of my narrative concerning excavations in Mesopotamia and explain a matter about which much misconception has existed. It will be remembered that in passing through Port Ṣa'îd in 1889 I made arrangements for the dispatch of a box containing papyri to England. This box arrived in due course, and held several rolls of papyrus, three being inscribed in hieroglyphs and the rest in Greek. The Greek rolls were transferred to the Department of Manuscripts, where they were examined and transcribed by the present Director of the British Museum (Sir F. G. Kenyon) who discovered that the reverses of the rolls were inscribed with a copy of Aristotle's lost work on the Constitution of Athens. This was a very great discovery, and the Trustees decided to publish a facsimile of the text of the work with a transcript and

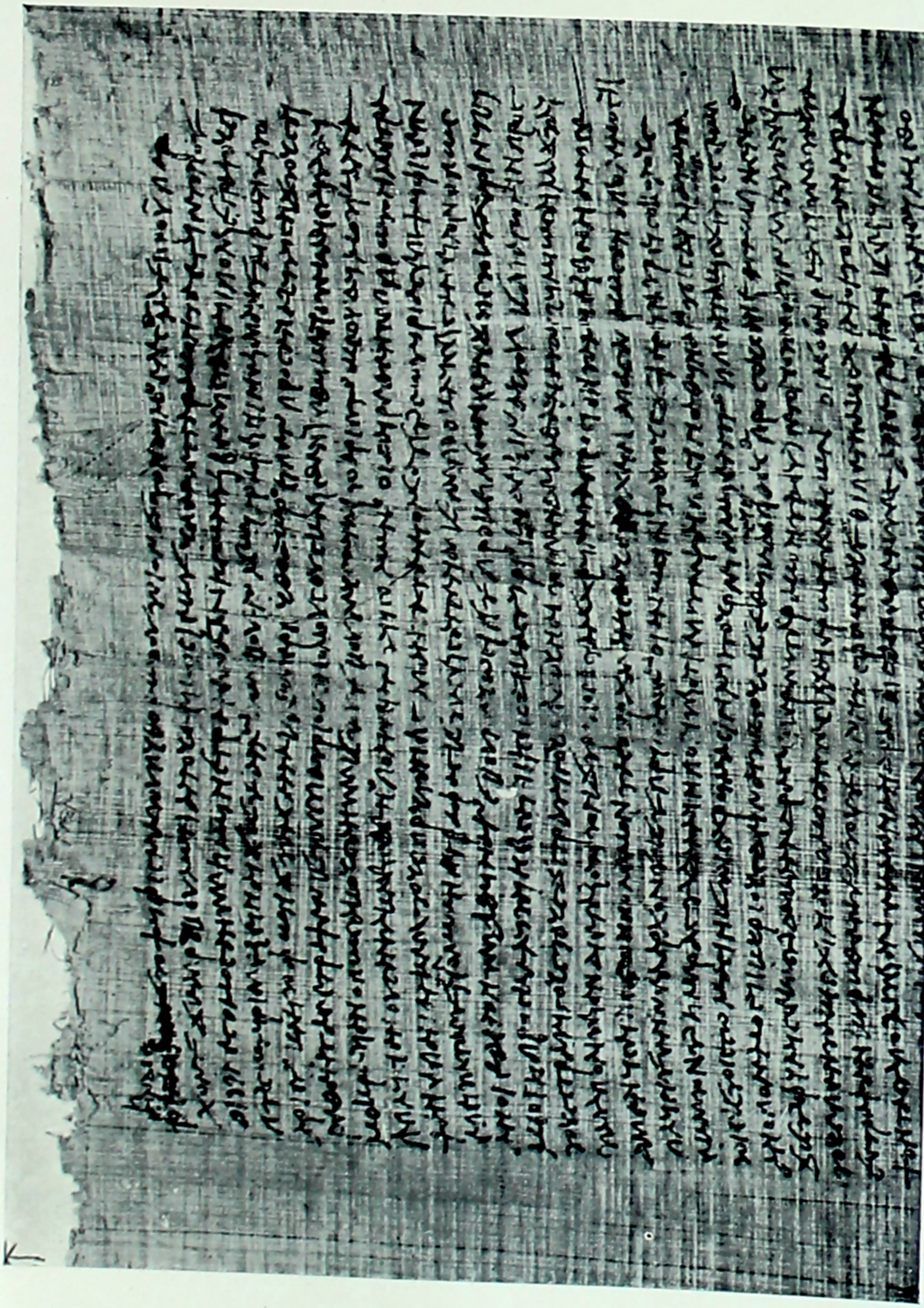
translation by Kenyon. As he progressed with the work he found that a large piece of one of the rolls was missing, and I was asked if I could account for it, and whether it might possibly be in the hands of some native in Egypt. Ultimately I was instructed to go to Egypt on my way to Mesopotamia and to spare neither trouble nor expense in finding the missing piece of the papyrus, and I forthwith wrote to friends in Egypt asking them to institute a search at once. Meanwhile the report of Kenyon's great literary discovery spread abroad and, naturally enough, aroused universal interest. At the same time some gentlemen, who for one reason or another generally betook themselves to Egypt for the winter, claimed to have seen the papyrus in Egypt and to have identified the Greek text on its back as the lost work of Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens.[1] Others claimed to have discovered the papyrus themselves and to have sold it to natives who sold it to me, and more than one archæologist told me personally that the Trustees acquired it from him. I therefore take this opportunity of saying how the rolls of papyri came into my hands.

I was travelling to Asyûṭ with the Rev. Chauncey Murch in December, 1888, by slow trains and easy stages so that I might be able to go to various villages in Upper Egypt and examine objects which natives wished to sell. Among other places we stopped at Malawî, about 185 miles from Cairo, and as we arrived at two o'clock in the morning we gratefully accepted the hospitality of some Coptic friends of Murch for the rest of the night. Early in the morning various natives brought us antiquities, chiefly Coptic, and some of these

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[1] The official description of the papyrus is as follows: Papyrus CXXXI. *Recto.* Accompt-book of Didymus, son of Aspasius, farm bailiff to Epimachus, son of Polydeuces, in the neighbourhood of Hermopolis, giving his receipts and expenditure for the 11th year of the Emperor Vespasian (A.D. 78–79), 3 rolls, 7 ft. 2½ in., 5 ft. 5 in., 3 ft. 11 in. *Verso* Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία. Late first or early second century. See *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, p. 166 ff., and Kenyon, *Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens*, 3rd edit., 1892.

To face p. 148, *vol. ii.*



A portion of the Greek text of Aristotle's work on the Constitution of Athens.
Brit. Mus., Pap. No. 131, col. 12.

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we bought. It was only natural for Coptic antiquities to be found at Malawî, for the modern village is built near the site of the famous old Coptic town of Manlau, of the name of which Malawî is a corruption. In the early centuries of the Christian era there were many churches at Manlau, and the place was a thriving business centre. In the course of our conversation a native from the other side of the river reminded me that the Greek magical papyri which I bought in 1887 had come from him, and I asked him where he obtained them. He mentioned a place a few miles down the river on the opposite bank, and pressed us to go and visit it with him that day. We crossed the river and then rode donkeys northwards to the site of the ancient city of Khemenu (*i.e.*, the centre of the cult of Thoth and his Eight Gods). Keeping well away from the ruins of the old city, which the Greeks called "Hermopolis," we bore to the east and came to a low, flat spur of the hills close by, where there were the remains of many fine ancient rock-hewn Egyptian tombs of the twenty-sixth dynasty. In one side of the spur of the hill two series of tombs had been hewn during the Roman period, the upper series had been occupied by Greek or Roman settlers or officials in Egypt, and several mummies of the fourth or fifth century A.D. had been taken out of them. The lower series had not been excavated because of the immense heaps of stone and sand that blocked up the approaches. There seemed no doubt that the tombs of the lower series contained important antiquities, and I suggested to the Copts who had come with us from Malawî that they should apply to the Service of Antiquities for permission to excavate the site. They absolutely refused to do this, saying they had no faith in that Department. Finally I made an arrangement with them personally, and undertook to purchase from them one-half of everything they might find in the tombs; and I agreed that if they found nothing I would pay one-half of the actual cost of clearing away the stones and sand which blocked the entrances to the halls of the tombs. Close

to these tombs were the ruins of a Coptic monastery and the graves of many of its monks.

The Copts made no attempt to get the tombs cleared until the following summer, when the great heat usually paralysed the energies of the inspectors of the Service of Antiquities, and the contents of the tombs were left to take care of themselves. In September it became possible to enter the tombs of the lower series in the spur of the hill, and the searchers found that several of the coffins in them had been ransacked in ancient times by tomb robbers, who had broken up many mummies and left the pieces lying in the coffins. I kept in communication with the natives who were making the search for papyri, and I received from one of them in November, 1888, a letter saying that they had found some good-sized rolls of papyrus in a painted cartonnage box. The writer of this letter and two of his partners met me in Port Sa'îd in April, 1889, for I had informed him from Aden when I expected to arrive there, and we discussed the purchase of all these papyri and they named their price. The papyri reached England in due course and the Trustees bought them, and immediately some busybodies accused me of wasting the funds of the Museum by paying a "fool-price" for the papyri, and others said I had taken advantage of the "poor natives" and robbed them by paying for the papyri less than they were worth. As a matter of fact the natives were paid more than they asked, and they were perfectly satisfied, and did business with me for at least twenty years more, in fact as long as they had anything to sell.

But to return to my narrative. I left London on September 26th, 1890, embarked on the Messageries Maritimes s.s. "Niger" at Marseilles on the 27th and sailed for Alexandria. The ship had her full complement of passengers, among whom were many Brothers and Sisters belonging to various Roman Catholic Orders, who were returning to their monasteries and nunneries in Egypt, Palestine and Syria. I made the acquaintance of Mr. Joyce, the Director of the Alexandria Water

Works, who told me many interesting stories of General Gordon, General Earle and other old military heroes, and in later years assisted me greatly in Alexandria. And I had several conversations with the Chief of the Jesuits at Bêrût, who gave me much valuable information about Syria and the places where manuscripts were likely to be found. The voyage to Alexandria was quite delightful and came to an end all too soon. The fine ship kept a perfectly even keel the whole way. The sky was cloudless, and though the days were very hot the light easterly winds prevented the heat from becoming oppressive. We arrived at Alexandria at daybreak on October 2nd. I spent the day in visiting a splendid tomb of the Roman period which had been recently discovered a few miles outside the city, and was promptly called "Cleopatra's Tomb." The owner of the ground in which the tomb was found was most anxious to sell the sarcophagus in it to the British Museum, but the price he asked for it was ridiculous. There were very few tourists in Alexandria at the time, and of these the most remarkable was Miss Marsden, who was about to set out for Russia and Siberia, where she was going (if possible) to visit all the prisons throughout the country by special permission of the Czar. She told me a great deal about her mission, and how she hoped to collect data which when published would stir up public opinion throughout Europe and force the Great Powers to make the Russian Government ameliorate the condition of its prisoners and also of the lepers. She was full of enthusiasm and of somewhat unpractical energy, and was fully convinced that prisoners in Russia were treated far worse than they were in the days of John Howard, though she had no proof that such was the case. She must have encountered great difficulties[1] in fulfilling her self-imposed task.

As there was nothing I could do in Alexandria to

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[1] See her *On Sledge and Horseback to Outcast Siberian Lepers*, London, 1895. Her life was published by H. Johnson at London in the same year her book appeared.

forward my quest for the missing fragment of Aristotle's 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, I went to Cairo on the 3rd, and had to wait there until the morning of the 7th for a train to take me to Asyûṭ. On the 5th I delivered certain letters to Colonel (later Lord) Kitchener, and renewed my acquaintance with him which had begun so far back as 1875. I spent a long afternoon with him and found that he was just as keenly interested in Oriental Archæology as he was in the days when he was working for the Palestine Exploration Fund. He talked a great deal about Mesopotamia and Baghdâd, and excavations in Egypt, which he thought were badly mismanaged, and he urged me to lose no chance of acquiring antiquities and taking them to England. He asked me many questions about the Egyptian Sûdân and its ancient history, and was evidently very desirous of playing a prominent part in its restoration to Egypt. He walked round his garden with me and showed me the various flowers which he was trying to grow, then took me to his stable and talked to his horses, and when we reached the gate he wished me "good luck" and said, "If ever I get the job of smashing the Khalîfah[1] and taking Khartûm you shall have your 'look in' at the Sûdân." And he kept his word, as the following copy of a letter of his will show :

"CAIRO,
"*June* 15*th*, 1897.

"DEAR MR. BUDGE,

"I am quite sure your military ability would be of great service to me at or about Merowi, so if you find yourself at Assuan without raising any vast amount of attention, means will be provided for you to proceed.

"You can select your own time, but it appears to me that there is less likelihood of your military expedition being talked about before September than later.

"Yours sincerely,
"(Signed) HERBERT KITCHENER."

The result of this letter was that the Trustees sent me to the Sûdân six weeks later, and when I arrived at

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[1] The Mahdî died June 22nd, 1885.

Aswân I was "taken over" and sent up to Marawî, where I spent some months in excavating.[1]

The following morning Kitchener sent me a message to the effect that he wished to go with me to the Egyptian Museum at Gîzah, which had recently been opened to the public. We drove out early in the day and spent a long morning there, and I found that he was chiefly interested in the objects which illustrated the decorative powers of the Egyptians, and that he admired the bas-reliefs, etc., of the fourth dynasty far more than the sculpture of the eighteenth dynasty. He much regretted that the unstable condition of the old Bûlâḳ buildings made it necessary to remove the Egyptian collections from it to the palace at Gîzah, for a more incongruous place for them could hardly have been found. The massive sculptures of the Ancient Empire and the mummies of Rameses II and other great kings looked sadly out of place in rooms with walls painted blue, and mouldings of salmon-pink picked out in gold, and ceilings decorated with panels, on which were painted Cupids, Venuses, etc. In the afternoon I took Kitchener out to Gîzah village to see some antiquities, and then on to the Pyramids, in the neighbourhood of which lived various dealers, and they showed him their collections. On our return to Cairo we visited several shops where Greek coins were to be seen, and he purchased several examples at what seemed to me to be high prices. He was much interested in Greek coins, which he admired greatly, and in 1899 I saw two cabinets full of them in his house in Cairo. In the evening he took me to dine at the Khedivial Club with Dr. Sandwith, General Dormer, Tigrane Pâshâ and the German Consul-General.

I left for Upper Egypt on the morning of the 7th, and began making enquiries among the natives who busied themselves with antiquities for the missing columns of the Aristotle papyrus. After many fruitless

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[1] An account of my missions to the Sûdân will be found in my *Egyptian Súdân* 2 vols., London, 1907.

visits to villages on both sides of the Nile, I gained the information I sought at Beni Suwêf, and finally found the piece of papyrus itself in the hands of a gentleman at Asyûṭ. I had no difficulty at all in arranging the matter with him, and I took the fragment with me to Luxor. The next question was how to get it to London. It was quite hopeless to expect that the Service of Antiquities would allow it to leave the country, and I did not want to take it with me to Mesopotamia. At length I bought a set of Signor Beato's wonderful Egyptian photographs, which could be used for exhibition in the Egyptian Galleries of the British Museum, and having cut the papyrus into sections, I placed these at intervals between the photographs, tied them up in some of Madame Beato's gaudy paper wrappers, and sent the parcel to London by registered book-post. Before I left Egypt a telegram told me that the parcel had arrived safely, and that its contents were exactly what had been hoped for. I then spent a busy week in collecting Egyptian antiquities, and found in the various villages about Luxor and in the neighbourhood many objects of considerable interest. The weather was very hot and the atmosphere, on account of the inundation, was damp and steamy. A strong southerly breeze, which seemed to grow hotter each day, made it difficult to saw wood and make the packing cases for my acquisitions, but with the help of the Rev. Chauncey Murch, who was a first-rate carpenter, this work was finished, and I handed over to Messrs. Thos. Cook and Son a considerable number of cases for transport to Cairo. I left Luxor at dawn on the 18th, and found the passage to Asyût full of interest. I had never seen the Nile in flood before and it was a most wonderful sight. In the Thebaïd the waters reached almost to the hills on the western bank, and eastward the river appeared to have become an inland sea. Men, women, children and cattle were all huddled together on the little mounds on which the villages were built, and the great dykes, which also served as roads, were swallowed up in the

waters. In many of the villages which we passed I saw whole families perched on planks which rested in the forked branches of the dûm palms, and they appeared to be quite comfortable. At night time the stars of the wonderful Egyptian sky were reflected so vividly in the still waters out towards the hills, that there seemed to be two heavens of stars, one overhead and one on the ground.

We tied up for the night at Girgâ, and the Rev. Chauncey Murch, who was going to Akhmîm to ordain a native teacher, took me into the town to make the acquaintance of some wealthy Copts who possessed a good collection of Coptic manuscripts. We arrived at Asyûṭ on Sunday afternoon, and I rode out on a donkey with one of Hicks's old officers who had escaped the onslaught of the Mahdî's troops in 1883, to see some early tombs in the hills which had recently been discovered by the natives. We saw some very good painted wooden coffins of the twelfth dynasty, which I subsequently acquired. The journey by train from Asyûṭ to Cairo was in those days perfectly detestable, as many will remember. Eleven hours were allowed for the journey of 210 miles, and the train stopped for five minutes at each of the sixty stations between Asyûṭ and Cairo. I left Asyûṭ at 9 p.m., but did not reach Cairo until the following evening, because our engine broke down several times, and because we were held up at one place for eight hours whilst they repaired the damage caused to the railway-bed by the inundation. Whilst in Cairo I enjoyed the hospitality of General Sir Francis and Lady Grenfell at Muṣṭafâ Pâshâ Fahmî. Having made arrangements with Brugsch Bey, Conservateur of the Egyptian Museum at Gîzah, for the sealing and despatch of the cases which were on their way down the river, I went to Alexandria on the 22nd. General Sir William Butler, who was then in command at Alexandria, sent his secretary, Mr. Magro, to bring me to his house, and showed me much kindness, and gave me letters to friends of his in Bêrût and Damascus.

Early on the 23rd I booked a passage to Jaffa[1] (Japho in Joshua xix, 46, Joppa in Acts ix, 36) and intended to ride up from Jerusalem to Damascus. I embarked in a Khedivial steamer which called at all the ports on the Syrian coast between Port Sa'îd and Iskandarûn (Alexandretta), and we left Alexandria at 10 a.m. Two hours later we met a stiff easterly breeze, and in a short time a high sea was running. Our little steamer made no progress and the engines were slowed down, and we did not arrive off Jaffa until the afternoon of the 25th. The captain whistled several times for boats to put off for the mails and passengers, but none came and nothing could be landed. Having already lost much time he decided to steam direct for Bêrût, and there was nothing else for me to do but to go with him. We had, unfortunately for us, run into one of the "three days' storms," for which the Eastern Mediterranean is famous, and all our passengers, Jews, Christians, Greeks, Arabs, Turks, with one voice, though in different languages, cursed the sea.

We arrived at Bêrût early on the 26th, and as the Customs authorities and the Quarantine officers were very difficult to satisfy it took three hours to get free from the ship. The former confiscated my large revolver, medicine case, patent spirit stove, and many printed books, including a Ḳur'ân, and I went to the British Consulate to obtain help in getting back my possessions. As the British Consul had gone to England to get married and his *locum tenens* was paying a visit in the Lebanon Mountains for a "few days" it seemed as if I should have to waste several days in Bêrût or lose my things. On my way back to the Hôtel d'Orient an official of the Customs, who spoke French, saluted me and told me that all my belongings had been carefully kept together in the office of the Nâẓir (*i.e.*, overseer), and that if he and his Excellency might do themselves

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[1] This old town is mentioned in the Tall al-'Amârnah Tablets, where the form of its name is "(*alu*) Ya-pu" 𒀀𒅀𒌑 𒅀𒅀𒌑 𒌷𒀀. (Bezold's edition of the British Museum Group, p. 127, l. 20.)

the honour of breakfasting with me at eleven o'clock at the hotel they would bring them with them. Both gentlemen appeared at the time stated with my things, and having paid them the "customary fees" we all enjoyed our meal, and we parted in a most friendly manner. As the Mulid an-Nabi, or festival of the Prophet's birthday, was being celebrated that day, the town was decorated with flags of all kinds, and the people were very merry. In the evening they all turned out to see the fireworks, and the town was very noisy.

I took a guide recommended by the Turkish officials and went round the town. The bazâr was not interesting, but I saw some very curious buildings in the old part of the town, and several quaint corners where the narrow streets joined. Bêrût was a very important town in the fifteenth century before Christ, and it is mentioned several times in the Tall al-'Amârnah Tablets.[1] It was practically destroyed during the wars of Antiochus VII and Tryphon (about B.C. 140), but the Romans rebuilt it and it became once more a flourishing town with a theatre and amphitheatre, baths, etc. It was famous for its Law College, which was removed to Sidon after the earthquake that ruined the town in 551. The Arabs captured it about 634–36, and Baldwin I in 1125; the successors of the latter kept it for about sixty years. Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn (Saladin) wrested it from the Crusaders[2] in 1187, but they regained possession of it ten years later and kept it till about 1290. The Turks occupied it at the end of the seventeenth century and have held it ever since, except for nine years (1832–40), during which the Egyptians were masters of the city.

I made enquiries with the view of visiting the interior of the mosque, which is said to have been originally a church built by the Crusaders, but was told that it was impossible. I therefore decided to devote the rest of the day to visiting the sculptures of Egyptian

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[1] The common forms of the name are (*alu*) Biruna and (*alu*) Biruta .

[2] See Yâḳût, i, p. 785.

and Assyrian kings at the mouth of the Nahr al-Kalb, or the "Dog River,"[1] the "Lykus" or "Wolf River" of classical writers. These lie at the other end of St. George's Bay, about ten miles from Bêrût, and the drive there was said to be very pleasant. I called on Dr. Fritz Rosen, the German Consul at Bêrût, and invited him and his wife to join me in my proposed expedition, and they did so; we hired a carriage and set out in the early afternoon for the Dog River. Just after leaving the old town we passed some ruins which are said to mark the spot where St. George slew the Dragon, and then drove through a long series of most beautiful gardens that came down close to the shore and reached almost to the Dog River. We crossed several small rivers, the Nahr Bêrût, the Nahr Mût (*i.e.*, the "Death River"), etc., and in about two hours arrived at a quaint little inn at the northern end of the bridge over the Dog River. The sculptures are found high up on the rock on one side of the pass, and beneath them in ancient times ran the high road from the interior to the sea. The largest monuments are stelæ of Rameses II with figures of the king sacrificing to the gods Rā and Amen, and hieroglyphic texts; these marked the limit of his dominions in Syria. Near these are figures and inscriptions of Ashur-naṣir-pal and his son Shalmaneser II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and two figures of Assyrian kings which could not be identified.[2] A little distance from these were fragments of one Greek and one Latin inscription. Close to the bridge, in a most prominent position, and cut on an old Egyptian stele, is a French inscription made by order of Général de Beaufort de Hautpoul, who visited the place with Colonel Osmont and Général Ducrat, and others in 1860–61. Dr. Rosen told me that there were inscriptions

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[1] My guide told me that there used to be a stone dog at the mouth of the river, which barked when an enemy attempted to enter it, but the source of this tradition is unknown to me.

[2] For a general description see Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1884, p. 657 ff.

in *Mismârî*, *i.e.*, cuneiform, at many places in the neighbourhood, but without the materials for making paper impressions visits to them would have been useless.

On our way back to Bêrût Dr. Fritz Rosen very kindly invited me to visit him that evening so that he might show me some maps of the various routes from Damascus to Môṣul, which had been compiled by German travellers and were then in the Consulate, and I accepted. Dr. Fritz Rosen was the son of Dr. Georg Rosen,[1] formerly Prussian Consul in Jerusalem, with whom my wife and I stayed during a long visit which we paid to Detmold in May and June, 1885. His wife, a daughter of Monsieur Roche, the eminent French examiner for the British Government, was a fellow-student with my wife at the National Training School for Music. I was very glad to meet my old friends again, and I went to the German Consulate after dinner and spent a very useful and pleasant evening there. Dr. Rosen had asked Dr. Schröder to meet me, and I learned from him many facts which I found most useful during my journey to Môṣul. Dr. Schröder was a colossus of Semitic learning, and was as great an

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[1] It was of this gentleman and his wife that Holman Hunt told the following story:

The Pasha, who had been courageous enough to allow *Franghis* to enter the Mosque As Sakreh, was a Moslem of singularly open mind. He came to Jerusalem not only without a handsome number of wives, but without one. He soon conceived a cordial friendship for Baron Rosen, the Prussian Consul, and visited him as an intimate. The Consul, who was of courteous and gentle manner, appreciated the desire of the Pasha to understand the life of a European household, and welcomed him at all times. The Pasha became specially interested in the household affairs which, without ceremony, Madame Rosen discharged in his presence. After a while, in a confidential talk with the Consul, he avowed that the European system of managing a house was distinctly to be preferred to that of the Oriental, in that dishonesty was completely checked in the servants; this, he declared, was truly excellent, but still, he added, "There is one point I cannot understand; your wife effectually guards you from dishonest servants, but what check have you to prevent her from defrauding you herself?" *Pre-Raphaelitism*, vol. ii, p. 33, London, 1905.

authority on Phœnicia and its history and archæology as Movers. Like all the other great German scholars I met between 1880 and 1890, Nöldeke, Rödiger, Dillmann, Hoffmann, Schrader, Merx, Socin and others, he was very modest and gave me the information he had to give ungrudgingly.

On my return to Bêrût I found that there was a seat vacant in the diligence which was going to leave the following morning for Damascus, and I secured it. We left the hotel at 4 a.m. and travelled smoothly and in comparative comfort, although the space allowed inside the coach per passenger was not excessive. But the vehicle itself was in good condition, and the animals looked as if they were fed regularly and sometimes groomed; it was drawn by six animals, three horses and three mules. The road to Damascus, seventy miles long, was made by French engineers soon after 1860, and it had been well maintained; it was, I believe, at that time the only good road in all Syria. It was quite dark when we left for Damascus and very cold, so little could be seen of the country through which we drove. When the day broke we saw that the road ran practically parallel with the old mule track, on which were many native travellers who could not afford to pay for permission to use the French road. When we began to ascend the slopes of Lebanon our pace decreased considerably. The growing light revealed a well cultivated country, and some of the views, especially those westward, were very beautiful. After passing 'Arêyah the road winds the whole way to Maksah. We passed Khân Jamhûr, Khân Bûdêkhân and Khân Ṣûfar and soon afterwards we entered country which was to all intents and purposes a desert. The top of the Lebanon Pass is marked by Khân Mizhir, and from this point we obtained magnificent views in all directions, in the west the sea, in the north-east Ba'albak, and in the south Mount Hermon were easily visible. After Khân Murâd the road ran by the side of the mountain and after passing Maksah we skirted the northern end of Al-Baḳâ'a, *i.e.*, the plain between Lebanon and Anti Lebanon. At

eleven o'clock we reached Ashtûrâ, or Shtôra, where (as I intended to visit Ba'albak) I left the diligence. There was nothing of importance to see at Ashtûrâ, which seemed to exist solely in the interests of the Bêrût-Damascus Road Company. The little inn was clean and well kept, and the innkeeper ordered a carriage to be got ready to take me to Ba'albak whilst lunch was served.

I left Ashtûrâ about one o'clock, and did not arrive at Ba'albak until sunset. I had the vehicle to myself, and when the driver found that I knew a little Arabic he invited me to sit by his side and then talked freely. At one point on the road he became very animated in his conversation, and wishing to have his hands free he tied the reins round one leg and went on talking for some time. When he paused to light his cigarette we found that the horses had stopped, but neither of us noticed it before. Soon after we passed the village of Mu'allaḳah he pointed out to me on the left Al-Karak Nûḥ, a large building which is said to be the Tomb of Noah. Several miles further on, this side of Tamnîn, he pointed to a place on the left, where he said there were many ancient rock-hewn tombs. We passed through Tamnîn and the road then ran over the plain more to the north-east. We crossed the river Lîṭânî and next came to Tallîyah, where we stopped for half an hour; here the driver had many friends and they showed me much civility. It was now growing late, and when we came to Dûris I could not visit the ruins which the driver said were quite near, but I saw them the next day. An hour later we arrived at Ba'albak and the ruins looked very fine in the light of the afterglow. The little inn was clean and tidy and was, I think, kept by a Greek. In the course of the evening some French Sisters who had a school there brought in and offered for purchase coloured purses and bags knitted by their pupils, and each guest bought several, and the Sisters went away happy.

Ba'albak lies about thirty-five miles north-north-west of Damascus, and there seems to be little doubt that the Romans called the site "Heliopolis," this

name being probably a translation of its ancient name. It occupies an important position on the great road from Tyre to Aleppo and a city must always have stood here. The Romans maintained a garrison here, and Antoninus Pius and other emperors are said to have founded temples in the city and to have beautified it. Theodosius the Great turned the great temple into a church. It was besieged by the Arabs in the seventh century, and its inhabitants surrendered it and paid the conquerors tribute. The Seljuk princes captured it at the end of the eleventh century, Changiz Khân in 1140, Hûlâgû destroyed much of the city in 1260, and Tîmûr sacked it in 1400. The Turks took possession of it early in the sixteenth century, and under their rule it has sunk to an unimportant village, and the trade which formerly made it rich has transferred itself to other routes.

After the French Sisters had departed the innkeeper came in with a Turkish official, and brought him to me and told me that he was "Nâzir Antîḳât," or Customdian of the ruins of Ba'albak. This gentleman spoke French and was well acquainted with the history of the town under Arab rule, and after some talk he kindly proposed to walk about the ruins with me so that I might see them by starlight and moonlight. We set out at once, and as he knew all the short cuts we soon found ourselves in places where massive walls stood of old, and where good views of the temples might be obtained. The ruins looked much larger by night than by day, and seemed to cover a great deal of ground; and as there was no strong light to show up all the damage which the pillars and columns had sustained, the general effect was very fine. In this way I spent a couple of enjoyable and instructive hours. Before the Nâzir left me he promised to come for me at 5 a.m. and to show me the ruins by morning light, and true to his promise he came. I went with him, and I was glad to find by the opening in the wall of the temple a guardian who demanded $4\frac{1}{2}$ francs for admission, and gave me a receipt for the money when I paid it.

The fees collected in this way were used for clearing the débris from the ruins. The Nâzir quickly showed me the important parts of the ruins of the Great Temple,[1] and then we passed on to the so-called Temple of the Sun, where there were many sculptures and reliefs that called for careful study. The Corinthian columns, which seemed to be nearly fifty feet high, were very handsome. I was anxious to see the three gigantic stones of which I had read and heard so much, and the Nâzir, who thought the Temple of the Sun the most wonderful building in Syria (and he was right!), reluctantly led me away from it to the western outer wall where the three stones could be seen. He pointed out in the middle course of the wall those three[2] huge blocks, the like

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[1] The first European to give us any account of the ruins of Ba'albak was Martin von Baumgarten in his *Peregrinatio in Syriam*, Noriberg, 1594, 4to. They were next described by (1) Peter Belon (born 1518, died 1564; see a reprint of his *Travels* in Ray's *Collection*, 2 vols., London, 1693); (2) André Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1575; (3) Melchior von Seydlitz, *Beschreibung des Wallfahrt nach dem heiligen Lande*, Görlitz, 1580, 4to; (4) M. K. Radzivill, *Hierosolymitana Peregrinatio*, Brunsbergae, 1601, fol.; (5) F. Quaresmius, *Historica Theologica*, 2 vols., Antwerp, 1639; (6) H. Maundrell, *A Journey*, 4th ed., Oxford, 1721; (7) Jean de la Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, Paris, 1722; (8) Pococke, *Description of the East*, 2 vols., London, 1743–45; and (9) B. de Moncony, *Journal des Voyages*, 3 pts., Lyons, 1765–66, 4to. The best of the books on Ba'albak is Robert Wood's *Ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis*, London, 1757, and every traveller who has had it with him there will admit this. Wood's account of the ruins has formed the base of all modern descriptions of them, and it assisted Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, vol. iii) in arriving at some important conclusions. Arab writers have much to say about Ba'albak, which Yâḳût (i, p. 673) spells "Ba labakku." It is frequently mentioned in the works of Iṣṭakhrî, Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasî (see De Goeje's *Index Geographicus*), and Yâḳût, having discussed the meaning of the name, gives a sketch of its conquest by the Muslims. Ibn Jubêr (ed. Wright, p. 259) speaks of its "strong fortress," Mas'ûdî speaks with respect of the great temple (iv, p. 87), and Ibn Baṭûṭah praises the sweetmeats, the textile fabrics, and the wooden pots and spoons which were made there (i, p. 185–187).

[2] These are probably referred to in the Edict of Theodosius which ordered the Great Temple to be turned into a church for Christians: τὸ ἱερὸν Ἡλιουπόλεως . . . τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον, καὶ τὸ τρίλιθον. See *Chronicon Paschale*, Olymp. cclxxxix.

of which for size have never been built into any other wall in the world. As I had sent on my luggage to Damascus the day before I had no tape with which to measure them. The Nâzir gave me their dimensions in cubits, piks, palms and fingers, and his measurements showed the stones to be 64 feet 3 inches in length, 10 feet 4 inches in width, and 12 feet 10 inches in thickness. And their position in the wall was quite 20 feet from the ground. Having seen how immense masses of granite are moved about in quarries by means of levers and hardwood wedges, I did not so much wonder at their position at this height in the wall as at the skill of the quarrymen who first selected the spot in the quarry to work at, and then got out these splendid monoliths. We next went to the little temple in the village; judging by the crosses painted on the walls, this must have been used at one time for a church. Whilst we were there a messenger came to say that if I intended to go to Damascus that day I must leave at once, and we went to the carriage which was waiting close by. The Nâzir insisted on the driver taking me to see the great undetached stone in the quarry, which was several feet longer than any one of the three in the outer western wall, and then drove back with me to Ashtûrâ.

On leaving the quarry we drove to the village of Dûris, which we reached in about three-quarters of an hour. We walked to the ruins called "Ḳubbat Dûris," *i.e.*, "Dome" or "Shrine" of Dûris, and admired the handsome granite columns which were standing there. These must have been removed from some temple at Ba'albak, and it was clear that they were far older than the remains round about them. No one knew anything about the holy man in whose honour the Ḳubbah was built, but the sarcophagus which stood upright and was used as a *miḥrâb*, or prayer niche, proved that he was a Muslim.

We left Ashtûrâ about one o'clock, and drove over the flat land of the "split" or "plain" of Al-Baḳâ'a at a good pace. We crossed the river Lîṭânî, and in a little

over an hour arrived at Majdal 'Anjar ; a little to the left were the ruins of a large town which was thought to be Chalcis.

We next passed 'Ain Jadîdah, and through the Wâdî al-Ḳarn. After leaving this pleasant little valley the scenery became wild and savage, and the crossing of the Ṣaḥrat Dîmâs was very uninteresting. The Ṣaḥrat is a stony desert, very much like the stony plateau between the Nile and the Great Oasis. About 4.30 we arrived at Ḥâmah, where we changed horses and obtained some refreshment. On leaving Ḥâmah we seemed to enter another world. Our road lay through the Wâdî Baradâ, *i.e.*, the "Valley of Coolness," and from the point of entrance all the way to Damascus the drive was most pleasant. Wherever the waters of the Baradâ reached there were gardens and groves of trees of all the usual kinds found in Syria, and large patches of cultivation, which stretched right out to the edge of the desert. Damascus owes so much to the Baradâ[1] (*i.e.*, the Amânâh, or Abhânâh, of 2 Kings v, 12) and its fine water that there is some excuse for Naaman's boast that "Abana and Pharpar,[2] rivers of Damascus" were "better than all the waters of Israel." Half an hour after we left Ḥamah we passed Dummar, a suburb of Damascus where rich Damascenes live, and then for some miles we drove through beautiful plantations and gardens, and suddenly the minarets and cupolas of the great mosque of Damascus came into view. Crossing the Baradâ we skirted Ṣâliḥîyah, another suburb of Damascus, and then passing over a region intersected with many little canals we entered Damascus a little after sunset, when the after-glow was beautifying everything it fell upon. The terminus of the French road was near the Hotel Dimitri, and there I went with my belongings.

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[1] The Chrysorrhoas of Greek writers.

[2] The Nahr Barbar of the Arabs. Robinson (*Bibl. Researches*, iii, p. 447 f.) and others have identified the Parpar of the Bible with the 'Awaj or "crooked" river into which it flowed.

Damascus to Môṣul viá Palmyra, Dêr Az-Zúr and Sinjâr.

In the morning of October 29th I went to the British Consulate at the .north-west corner of Damascus and presented my letters of introduction to the Consul, Mr. John Dickson. He received me very kindly, told me that Sir William White had telegraphed to him and asked him to assist me in every way possible, and then proceeded to talk over my proposed journey to Môṣul. My plan was to go to Môṣul by way of Palmyra, thence to Dêr Az-Zûr on the Euphrates, and across the desert to Môṣul by whichever route was safest. When Mr. Dickson heard of this plan he shook his head and said it was impossible, both on account of the cholera which was said to be still raging in Northern Mesopotamia, and the unsettled state of the country. He thought it far safer and wiser for me to go to Baghdâd by sea viâ Bombay and not to go to Môṣul at all that winter. But I told him that I must go to Palmyra because I wanted to add to our collection of Palmyrene busts, and to Môṣul because of the Syriac and Arabic manuscripts and the Ḳuyûnjiḳ tablets that were waiting for me there, and that if I could not go to Môṣul I might as well return to England at once. I added that in addition to these business reasons for going to Palmyra and Môṣul, I wanted to cross that "great and terrible wilderness" that lies between Syria and the Tigris, and that for many years I had longed to do so. Richard Burton had described it to me in unforgettable words in 1883, and his picture of its grim and splendid majesty and its ever-changing but always terrible face, had etched itself deeply on my mind.

Mr. Dickson listened courteously and stated the reasons why I should not go, and finally said that as he really could not guarantee my safety if I went he

would take no responsibility for any attempt of mine to cross the desert. I told him that I intended to go all the same, that I was not going to waste my opportunity of doing so, being in Damascus, and that as he could not help me officially I begged him earnestly not to hinder or frustrate, officially or privately, any attempt I might make to go. After a pause he told me that there were certain French Sisters and others who were waiting in Damascus to set out for Môṣul, but that neither the French Consul nor the Wâlî would allow them to start. "How then," said he, "can I possibly assist you to go to Môṣul? Your presence in the city is already well known, and the Turkish police have reported that you are a German railway engineer on your way to Persia by way of Môṣul, to make surveys for the German Government. You cannot set out on such a journey without making preparations, you cannot hide the making of these preparations, and if you could you could not possibly get out of the city without the knowledge of the watchmen and the police." These arguments seemed to be unanswerable, and I was in despair. But whilst we were still discussing the matter a ḳawwâs, or consular servant, brought into Mr. Dickson a letter from the Sarâyah. He opened it and read it, and as he read his face cleared, and he said, "This is good: it is a letter from the Wâlî Pâshâ, who says that the English 'father of anṭîḳas,' whom he saw in Baghdâd nearly two years ago, has come to Damascus on his way to Môṣul and Baghdâd, and he hopes that you will go with me to see him without delay and drink coffee with him." The ḳawwâs evidently knew the contents of the letter, for he waited for an answer, and Mr. Dickson told him to say that he and the English "father of anṭîḳas" would come "on the wings of haste." Then dropping the mask of the responsible official and showing the man he said to me: "Now I see a way of managing the matter, and I can help you. But the Wâlî must help us also."

We set out at once for the Sarâyah and were taken to the Wâlî's private office, and in a few minutes he

appeared and welcomed us warmly. He asked me many questions about Colonel Talbot, who was acting Consul-General when I was in Baghdâd, and about the antiquities and manuscripts which I had taken home from there in 1889. It was clear that he was on as good terms with Mr. Dickson at Damascus as he had been with Colonel Talbot at Baghdâd, and he seemed to be really anxious to "get on" with the representatives of all the Great Powers. He asked me what I was doing in Damascus, and where I was going, and I explained my plans to him, and asked him to help me to carry them out. He turned to Mr. Dickson and had a conversation with him in an undertone, and then told me that officially he was unable to help me, for he had refused to sanction the departure of the French Sisters for Môṣul and of other Europeans to other towns; that the "yellow wind," *i.e.*, the cholera, was still raging in many parts of Mesopotamia, and that every town and large village had a cordon drawn round it, and that any attempt to bribe the police would certainly fail. "Such," said he, "is my official attitude. But you did me a kindness in Baghdâd and I will do you a kindness in Damascus. I cannot and dare not authorize you to set out for Môṣul, and I ought to detain you here in quarantine, but I can arrange the matter in such a way that you will have the opportunity of doing what you want only at your own risk. I have need to send letters to the shêkh of the camel fair at Sukhnah, two or three days' journey beyond Tudmur, and though the business is not urgent, I will send them this week. Allah has already sent the man to carry them, and He now sends the opportunity. The man to carry them is Muḥammad an-Nâṣir ibn Idrîs, who for many years was one of the ablest of the camel-postmen who carried the mail for the English between Baghdâd and Damascus.[1] (The camel-postmen

[1] The Government camel-post between Baghdâd and Damascus was a development of the private camel-post which was established by Lynch Bros. soon after 1860. Captain Lynch made arrangements with the shêkhs of the various districts through which the post passed, and the Arab tribes kept their obligations loyally. Between

often allowed Englishmen and natives who were in a hurry to ride with them, even though this was strictly forbidden by the Government, both in Damascus and in Baghdâd.) I will send Muḥammad to the British Consulate and if you can arrange to ride with him to Sukhnah do so, but you will do so at your own risk; I know nothing about it and have given you no authority to do so. To reach Sukhnah you must pass through Tudmur, and so you can complete your business there. Although I am sending my camel-postman to Sukhnah and to Sukhnah only, I shall not expect him to return at once, so that if you can arrange with him to take you through the Sinjâr mountains to Môṣul that is his and your affair, and not mine. You will find travelling with Muḥammad, if you go with him, very hard work, may Allah protect thee! for he rides day and night." As he walked to the door of his room with us, he turned to me and said, "Muḥammad will guide thee safely. Keep silence and use haste. Take few animals and little baggage. Leave Damascus before the third day

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1870 and 1884 the official camel-post was managed by the British Consul-General at Baghdâd, but in the latter year the Turkish Government established a camel-post, and the English Government weakly agreed to withdraw theirs. The result was easily foreseen. The Turkish Government broke faith with the shêkhs, and refused to pay them the subsidies which the British had paid, and the Arabs in return robbed the mails and ill-treated the postmen. Finally the Baghdâd merchants found other ways of sending their letters, and the Turkish camel-post came to an end. My camel-postman told me that he used to ride from eighteen to twenty-two hours a day on an average, and that he rarely rested more than two hours at a time on the road. The distance from Damascus to Baghdâd is between 400 and 450 miles, and he usually traversed it in five and a half days in the summer and six and a half or seven in the spring and winter. He once performed the journey in five days. He took a camel to carry water, and if a traveller accompanied him, he took two. The places he mentioned on his route were: Ṭumêr (25 miles), Khân Ash-Shâmah (15 miles), Ḳaṣr As-Sêgal, the deserts of Hâ'il, Marrah, Shâmî, Lâḳîṭah and Sha'âlân (50 miles), Wâdî al-Walîj, Shu'êb Samhân (45 miles), Jabal Malûṣah, where there are wells (45 miles), Ḳaṣr 'Ewâr in the Wâdî Hawrân (53 miles), Rijm aṣ-Ṣâbûn (45 miles), Kabêsah village (38 miles), Hît (12 miles), Ḳaṣr Fallûjah (85 miles), Baghdâd (50 miles).

is ended. Sleep when Muḥammad bids you sleep, ride when he bids you ride, camp where he camps, and avoid houses. So shall Allah protect thee. I will give Muḥammad papers which will help thee as far as Tudmur." We then left him and Mr. Dickson took me to his house to lunch.

When we came out of the Consulate in the afternoon we found Muḥammad waiting for us, and we at once discussed business with him. He understood the position of things thoroughly well, and though he thought we should have trouble with the quarantine officials between Damascus and Tudmur, he seemed to fear more the unsettled state of the country beyond the Euphrates. The point of importance was that he was willing to take me beyond Sukhnah to Môṣul. Mr. Dickson then called one of his clerks and drew up a formal contract. Muḥammad said it would be necessary to take two camels, two mules to carry baggage and fodder, a good horse and a donkey; and as a sort of afterthought he added his nephew to this company. He proposed to select the animals that afternoon and then to feed them well and carefully for three days, and I gave him money on account and he departed. Mr. Dickson then most kindly offered to show me the things best worth seeing in Damascus, and we set off to visit some of his friends who possessed old and beautifully decorated houses.

We walked through the city eastwards and soon came to a region of beautiful gardens and plantations. The portion of each garden which contained the house was surrounded by mud walls that were in many cases in a terrible state of ruin. It was impossible to imagine that merchants of wealth and position lived within such, but as soon as we passed through the outer tumble-down doors and gates and entered the immediate precincts of the houses we found ourselves in beautiful paradises. Each courtyard was paved with slabs of marble of different colours, and in its centre was a fountain of water which came from the Baradâ river, and all the walls about were covered with flowering

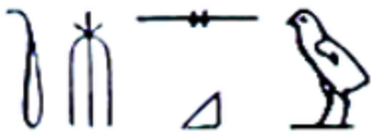
creepers, and the masses of flowers on them looked like so many clusters of jewels set in living green, and there were doves and wood-pigeons everywhere. Paths led away into luxuriant gardens girt about with groves of fruit trees, and in all parts of these the pleasing sound of the trickle of running water could be heard. Many of the reception rooms that we entered contained masterpieces of the craft of the carpenter and inlayer. The roof and walls of some of these were panelled with cedar, and were wholly covered with intricate geometrical patterns inlaid in ivory, mother-of-pearl, some kind of metal which looked like silver, and vivid vermilion. The frames of the dîwâns, Ḳur'ân stands, etc., were made of walnut wood or ebony, and were inlaid with mother-of-pearl and ivory; the coverings of the dîwân cushions were of richly embroidered silk, shot with silver-gilt threads, and many of the carpets were of silk and were dated. Mr. Dickson was everywhere a welcome guest, and his beautiful Arabic and sympathetic attitude towards the Muslims won their profound respect and, I sometimes thought, affection.

As there was little I could do to forward my affairs until I saw Muḥammad I devoted the early morning hours of the 30th to a walk about the city. This was considerably smaller than I expected. It seemed to me that there was not then, nor ever could have been, anything in any of the cities which have successively occupied the site for the last 4,000 years, that could account for the great fame and renown which Damascus has gained in the world. It must always have owed its importance chiefly to its position on the western edge of the great Syrian Desert, where from time immemorial it has formed a fine trading centre and clearing place for caravans from all parts of Western Asia, Arabia, Egypt, Persia and Eastern Europe. Nothing is known about the early history of Damascus and the country round about it, and when and by whom the first city was built there is also unknown. Local tradition associates the founding of the city with Abraham, but that is only a way of expressing belief in its great antiquity. The

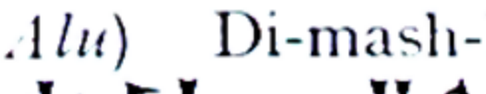
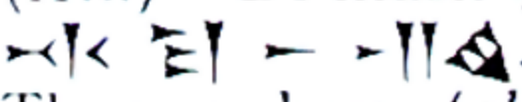
Bible calls it "Damměsĕḳ" (Gen. xiv, 15), "Dûmměsĕḳ" (2 Kings xvi, 10), "D'mĕshĕḳ," or "D'mĕsĕḳ" (Amos iii, 12), and "Darmĕsĕḳ"[1] (1 Chron. xviii, 5). The first of these forms is clearly the oldest, because it is most in accordance with the Egyptian form of the name, "T-m[e]s-qu,"[2] and with the forms "Dimashqa" and "Timashgi" which are given in the Tall al-'Amârnah Tablets.[3] The Assyrians adopted the oldest form,[4] and the Muslims likewise, who called the city "Dimeshḳ," or "Dimishḳ ash-Shâm."

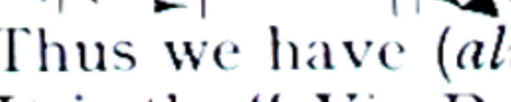
The size too of the city was disappointing, for it was only about 1⅛ mile long, and little more than half a mile wide; and its whole area is quite flat. Apart from the lower portion of the south wall of the city there seemed to be little that was ancient in it; parts of its eight gates may be old Arab work, but the greater number of them, and most of the wall, are clearly of modern building. The one interesting thoroughfare in the town is the street which is identified with that "which is called Straight," where Saul of Tarsus lodged during his temporary blindness (Acts ix, 1–11). It runs right through the town from east to west, and in one or two places I was shown the bases of columns which probably formed parts of the double colonnade that existed on each side of it in ancient days. The Arabs still call it "Darb al-Mustaḳîm," *i.e.*, "Straight Street,"[5]

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[1] This form with an *r* inserted exists also in Egyptian (B.C. 1100) thus  *Sar-m[e]s-ki* = Tár-m[e]s-ki  Müller thinks this Egyptian form is the result of an attempt to Aramaicize  (*Asien*, p. 234). And in Syriac the form "Darmasûḳ" is common.

[2]  It occurs in the list (No. 13) of places and peoples conquered by Thothmes III about B.C. 1550; see Mariette, *Karnak*, pll. 17–21.

[3] (*Alu*) Di-mash-ḳa  ; (*alu*) Ti-ma-ash-gi  . See Bezold, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 89.

[4] Thus we have (*alu*) Di-ma-ash-ḳi  .

[5] It is the "Via Recta" of mediæval travellers.

but the Turks give it the name of "Sûḳ al-Jaḳmaḳ," or "gun-bazâr." I found most of the bazârs and khâns very interesting, and saw many very beautiful patterned silks, which I was informed were "genuine damask."[1] In the afternoon Mr. Dickson took me to see the famous Takkîyah, or lodging-house, which Sulṭân Salîm built for the use of the poor in 1516, and the mosque of As-Sinânîyah, built in 1581, with its wonderful minaret covered with green-glazed tiles, and the Great Mosque. The site of the last named was probably occupied for many centuries before Christ by temples dedicated to pagan gods, or to the cult of stocks and stones, and here no doubt stood the "house of Rimmon" mentioned by Naaman the Syrian (2 Kings v, 18). At the end of the fourth century, the Emperor Arcadius repaired an old temple here and turned it into a church which, because it was believed to contain the head of John the Baptist, was called the "Church of St. John." In the eighth century Al-Walîd, the Khalîfah, managed to gain complete possession of the church, and having destroyed most of it began to build a magnificent mosque.[2] It suffered greatly by fire in the eleventh century and still more at the hands of Tîmûr about 1400. Thanks to Mr. Dickson I was able to see every old part of the mosque, and two very beautifully written and decorated copies of the Ḳur'ân, which were said to date from the twelfth century, and a copy written

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[1] Some think that the word "damask" is not derived from the name "Damascus," but from the Latin *metaxa* (by metathesis) through the Syriac.

[2] According to Ibn Baṭûṭah (i, 199) it was 300 cubits (450 feet) long and 200 cubits (300 feet) wide. It was decorated with marble mosaics and coloured glass, and its pillars were of marble brought from all parts of the country. There was a lead cupola before the *miḥrâb*. The court was 100 cubits (150 feet) square, and had a colonnade on three sides, and three cupolas. In the mosque itself was a cupboard which contained the copy of the Ḳur'ân which the Khalîfah 'Uthmân sent to Damascus. The mosque had three minarets, one of which was built by the Christians. It was also said to contain the tomb of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist. One prayer said in the mosque was more effective than 30,000 said elsewhere.

in the Kûfî character of the ninth or tenth century. When we left the Great Mosque we went about and saw a great many tombs, mosques, churches, etc., which are held in veneration by the Damascenes. We also went and looked at an old building which stands outside the city wall on the east and is supposed to mark the site of Naaman's house. Near the cemetery we were shown the place where Saul of Tarsus saw the bright light and fell to the earth (Acts ix, 4), and when we came back to the east wall the window through which he was let down in a basket (Acts ix, 25), and a little further on the house of Ananias. There may be some evidence which would support such traditions, but it was difficult to believe that any existed. We ended our sight-seeing for the day by paying a visit to the English School, which was maintained and directed by Miss Helen Butchart, and we were cordially received. This lady devoted many years of her life to teaching the children of Damascus English; she selected her own assistant mistresses and paid them, and conspicuous success crowned her work. Muslims and Christians alike were glad to send their children to her school, which increased and flourished until the failure of the health of its founder compelled that bright example of Christian devotion and sacrifice to leave Syria.

The whole of the morning of October 31st, my last day in Damascus, I was occupied in making preparations for my departure on the morrow and in paying a farewell visit to the Wâlî Pâshâ. I reported to Sir William White by telegraph that I was about to set out for Môṣul, and that the Wâlî had given me letters to the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm of Tudmur, and asked that the permit to dig at Dêr might be sent on to Môṣul. These things done I was free to accept in the afternoon an invitation to drive out to Jabal Ḳâsyûn[1] (Casius) in order to

[1] A famous mountain in legends of both Jews and Arabs. From the top of it the prophets ascended into heaven. In its sides are the cave in which Abraham was born; the cave where Abel's blood can be seen in the rock, and where Moses, Christ, Job and Lot used to pray; the cave in which Adam lived; the cave of the seventy prophets who fled from Jezebel; and the cave of the Seven Sleepers.

obtain a complete view of Damascus at sunset. We set out at three o'clock and drove through beautiful gardens to Ṣâliḥîyah and part of the way up the mountain, and our guide led us up to one of the peaks where there was a sort of grotto with a building over it called Ḳubbat an-Naṣr, or the "dome of Victory." We were told Al-Khiḍr, *i.e.*, Elijah, lived here, and the Virgin and Child.[1] The afternoon was bright and the view was one of the finest I have ever seen. The buildings of the city stood out clear with their domes and minarets, and the setting sun painted the stonework a blood-red hue. The course of the river Baradâ was marked by the line of bright green vegetation, which followed the whole length of the north wall of the city and travelled eastward for miles to the Baḥrat al-'Atêbah, and the great mass of gardens and plantation which represent the region called "'Uṭah" by old Arab writers. The city was surrounded with "living green," and lay like a great green fan on the yellow desert which hemmed it in. The sight of it thus made it easy to understand why Arab writers and poets[2] have raved about Damascus and called it the "garden of the East," the "spot where beauty passeth the night and taketh its rest," "the region the stones of which are pearls, the earth ambergris, and the air like new wine," "the beauty-spot on the cheek of the world, an eternal paradise with a Jahannum of anemones which burn not," "the city which is so truly a paradise that the stranger in it forgetteth his native land," etc. To the sun-scorched and desert-weary Arab Damascus with its waters, and its green fields and gardens, and its fruits and flowering trees, was the "Earthly Paradise." And Muḥammad the Prophet, who stood on Mount

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[1] See Ḳur'ân, Surah xxiii, v. 52, and Ibn Baṭûṭah, i, p. 233.

[2] Among others see the writers quoted by Ibn Baṭûṭah vol. i, p. 190 ff.; Iṣṭakhrî, p. 55 ff.; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 144 ff.; Muḳaddasî, p. 156 ff.; Yâḳût, ii, p. 587 ff.; Al-Bakrî, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 348. For the buildings see Mas'ûdî, iv, p. 90; v, p. 36; and for the conquest of Damascus by the Arabs see Bilâdhurî, p. 120 ff., and Ibn al-Athîr, ii, p. 328 f.; iv, 122 f., etc. See also Ibn Jubêr, p. 262 ff.

Ḳâsyûn one evening and gazed over the city for a long time, decided not to go down the mountain and rest there lest its delights should spoil his enjoyment of the Paradise of God in Heaven.

At daybreak on November 1st, Mr. Dickson arrived at the Hotel Dimitri, and we walked along by the ʻAḳrabânî Canal towards the gate of St. Thomas at the north-east corner of the city. There we mounted our horses and set out as it were for a morning ride. We took the road to Tudmur (Palmyra) and about two miles out we found Muḥammad with his mules, camels, donkey and nephew. He produced a letter addressed to the quarantine officer at Ḳaryatên, which the Wâlî had sent him, and when Mr. Dickson had read it he told me that we should certainly be allowed to pass on our way without trouble. Apparently he had feared that we might be sent back to Damascus. Muḥammad then made the camels get up and we started on our road to Tudmur. Mr. Dickson rode with us for five miles or so, and I was very sorry when he left us; I shall never forget the kindness which he showed me personally, and the trouble which he took to set me on my way. In passing I would mention a further proof of his kindness. When he returned to the Consulate that morning he found a cypher telegram from Sir William White awaiting him. In it Sir William told him that all the tribes between Môṣul and Dêr were at war with each other and the Government, that cholera was still rife in many parts of Northern Mesopotamia, and that I must be sent home as he refused to be responsible for my safety. Further, if by any chance I had left Damascus Mr. Dickson must send out a messenger on a swift dromedary to bring me back. He obeyed his instructions and sent out a messenger on a swift dromedary to recall me. What orders he gave him I cannot say, but the messenger understood that I was at Tudmur, and therefore rode straight for that place. He arrived there in three days, and after resting two days set out on his return journey. He met us at ʻAin al-Wuʻûl. He and Muḥammad were old acquaintances and were

very glad to see each other. He seemed to think that I might be the "Franjî" he was told to bring back to Damascus, but Muḥammad said that this was quite impossible, because the British Consul himself had ordered him to take me to Môṣul, and had ridden out with us nearly as far as the village of 'Adrâ. After a little further conversation he became quite convinced that Muḥammad was right, and when he returned to Mr. Dickson he reported that he had found no "Franjî" at Tudmur. Mr. Dickson described this incident to me in a letter which I received at Môṣul a few weeks later.

For the first few miles our road lay through gardens and fields, but after we passed Ḳubbat al-'Asâfîr (*i.e.*, the "dome of the birds") all vegetation seemed to disappear suddenly, and sand and stones took its place. About one o'clock we halted, and whilst we were near the Ḳubbah a man rode up on a camel bringing a white paper parcel which he handed to me. On opening it I found a small well-bound pocket Bible, and a note from Miss Butchart saying that the Book would protect me in my journey across the desert. When we went on again the road became tortuous and rocky. We rode through the valley of Jabal Abû'l-'Aṭâ with Jabal al-Ḳarn on our right. At 3.30 the road began to open out, and at 4.15 we stopped at the village of Al-Ḳuṭayyifah[1] for the night. We pitched our tent well away from the houses, but it proved to be a very ineffective protection from the cold evening and the bitterly cold night. Several people from the village came out to watch me making tea and boiling rice for my supper, and brought me a mass of dried desert herbs for the fire. In the course of the evening Muḥammad told me that Ḳaryatên was twenty hours distant, and asked me if I felt able to ride there in one day. Having a lively recollection of the heat we had experienced that day, and knowing that our road would lie through stony barren country I said no, and we decided to stop at 'Uṭnî, which we could reach in five or six hours, and to

[1] See Yâût, ḳ iv, p. 144, and Muḳaddasî, p. 190.

travel the whole of the following night. The cold was so intense and searching that I felt anything was preferable to trying to sleep in a tent.

We left Kuṭayyifah at 6.50 a.m., November 2nd, passed Mu'aḍḍamîyah at 8.30, and Muḥammad sending the beasts on took me off to the right to show me a part of the old conduit which ran underground to Palmyra. It was lined throughout with slabs of a yellowish-coloured stone, and was nearly six feet deep and four feet wide. We soon overtook our little caravan and came to the village of Jarûd about 10.30. The villagers knew Muḥammad and pressed us to stay there for the day, but we moved on and arrived at 'Uṭnî about one o'clock. A little before we reached the village we saw on the left some ruins which were called Ḳal'at Barbar, but they looked uninteresting, and as the heat was great we did not stop. Though but a small place 'Uṭnî was of importance, for it was a junction where the roads from Ḥoms and Tudmur joined to run on to Damascus. The people were friendly and sold us two chickens, but though they lived in huts made of stone and mud they were to all intents and purposes as the Arabs of the desert. They had nothing in their huts and very little clothing of any kind, indeed, they were less well clothed than the gazelle which we saw running in small herds from time to time. I paid for the service they rendered to us with coloured handkerchiefs, and they were very pleased to have them ; in the bright sunshine the crude colours lost their startling appearance. The afternoon hours were very trying on account of the heat, for the huts were like ovens, and the only thing to be done was to lie down by one of the camels on the shady side. At length Muḥammad told me that certain stars would rise about five o'clock at night, and that there would be a little moonlight soon after, and that he wanted to start then for Ḳaryatên. In the early evening a party of three Turkish officers arrived, one had his wife with him, and as their camel-men knew Muḥammad they fell on his neck and kissed him, one after the other, and then we all agreed to travel together. They came from

Ḥoms, and the lady had found the journey very trying. Just before the evening closed in I went and looked at the lake which lay to the east of the village, and found that its edges were deeply encrusted with salt. A little way off it looked like a huge turquoise set in white enamel lying upon a tawny skin.

We all left 'Uṭnî at eleven o'clock, just as the moon was rising, and marched steadily on until 5 a.m., November 3rd. There was a slight haze when we started, but this disappeared soon after midnight, and the sky became clearer and clearer, the stars brighter and brighter, and the cold greater and greater; it was the bitter coldness of the dawn wind which forced us to halt and boil water to make coffee. We started again at six, and our track lay through a howling wilderness, and nothing was to be seen except stones and sky. As the sun rose over the Jabal al-Wusṭânî its warmth was very comforting, and the mule men began to sing with closed lips. At ten we passed Khân al-Abyaḍ, which was in ruins, and an hour or so later the ruins of another building; at two o'clock we reached Ḳaryatên thoroughly tired. The Turkish officers went on into the town, but Muḥammad decided to pitch our tent near the well called Ras al-'Ain, about twenty minutes' walk from the town, where there were some good-sized trees and shade.

Ḳaryatên stands near or on the site of the city called "Nazala" in the "Notitia Dignitatum,"[1] and there were remains of many buildings of the Roman period, pillars, columns, capitals, inscribed slabs, etc., built into the walls of its houses and mosque. It was one of the towns captured by Khâlid ibn Walîd in his victorious march on Damascus in the early years of the Hijrah,[2] and is mentioned by Yâḳût.[3] I was told that its population was about 2,000, of whom 1,200 were Muslims and 800 Syrian Christians (Jacobites). Seen from a distance it looks like an oasis, and many of its gardens are large

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[1] Ed. Seeck, p. 67.

[2] Bilâdhurî, ed. de Goeje, p. 112.

[3] iv, p. 78.

and beautiful; these are watered by many wells which yield a supply of most refreshing water. In the cool of the afternoon I went into the town with Muḥammad, and the people received us kindly. The mosque was said to be about 300 years old, but many parts of it seemed to me to be several centuries older. In due course we found the quarantine official and presented our letter from the Wâlî of Damascus. He read it carefully and said he would pay us a visit that evening. We walked through some very pretty gardens and vineyards and then went back to our tent to make preparations for our visitor. I gave a man a bashlik (five piastres) and asked him to buy me some grapes, and he returned with two large baskets filled to overflowing with fine large clusters of purple grapes! The quarantine official came about 6.30 and shared our dinner, and turned out to be a very agreeable Turk. As a sort of afterthought he told us that he had received orders some days before to allow no one to enter or leave the town, and that we must therefore consider ourselves to be in quarantine. This news was disconcerting, but I replied that he must, of course, carry out his orders. In answer he said he would come again in the morning, and meanwhile begged us not to make any attempt to depart during the night; as we and our beasts were far too tired to travel that night I agreed cheerfully to this, and after drinking more coffee he left us with very friendly words. After he left us some of the Jacobites came to see us, and in the course of our talk I enquired if they had any Syriac manuscripts at Ḳaryatên, and they told me that there were some in the hands of their co-religionists who lived near Dêr al-Elyân to the west of the town. Dêr al-Elyân was an old monastery, and it was possible that some of the books from its library might exist in private hands, but their information was of a vague character and I decided to do nothing. They told me also that several years before a Franji had been to Ḳaryatên and made copies of some inscriptions which had since disappeared, and I thought they must be speaking of Sachau. They said there were several

places in the neighbourhood where there were ruins and inscribed stones, some in Syriac, and suggested that I should return and go with them to see them. At length we were left alone and we tried to go to sleep. Muḥammad put on everything he had and rolled his head up in heavy cloths and was soon asleep, and the night was so bitterly cold and the air so raw that one by one I put on the garments which I had taken off, and only when I had put on a heavy ulster did sleep become possible.

The next morning the quarantine official came and shared our breakfast and cigarettes, and then told me that he had arranged everything and that we could leave that afternoon. He gave me a document stating that I had made the stay in Ḳaryatên which was necessitated by the quarantine order, and gave me and my little caravan a clean bill of health bearing his official seal. This, he said, would be received by the officer at Tudmur, and I should have no further difficulty: he said also that only "wukhûshîn," *i.e.*, wild beasts, or uncivilized folk lived in the desert beyond, but he was confident that Allah would protect me there. Fees of course had to be paid, but I did not check his calculations, and we parted on the best of terms. About twelve o'clock we began to get ready to start, and the Turkish officers and the lady came up with their mules and men. We agreed to load one mule with water for all of us, and skins were at once filled and fastened on his back. The animal objected to the load, which I felt was too heavy, and I said so. The men said that they would soon be drinking some of the water and the load would become lighter, and as they knew more about such matters than I did I said no more.

We left Ḳaryatên at 2.30 p.m., November 4th, and all went well for a couple of hours. The mule with the skins of water had for an hour past been giving trouble, and suddenly, whether accidentally or intentionally I cannot say, he stumbled and fell, and just as the men rushed to get him up again he threw himself on his back and, after the manner of mules, had a good roll. The

net result of his roll was that all the skins burst and every drop of water was wasted; when the beast had finished his roll he got up and looked at us pleasantly. The muleteers told him in very picturesque language exactly what they thought of him, and cursed all his ancestors, but especially his grandmother; I tried to find out why this ancestress was cursed with such unanimity, but failed. Muḥammad said that it was only to be expected, for the mule was owned by a Christian, and that no Muslim mule would ever have behaved so badly. Meanwhile we had lost all our water, and as the skins were destroyed it was useless to send back to Ḳaryatên for more. Muḥammad decided that we had better ride to 'Ain al-Wu'ûl, or "Fountain of the Antelopes," which lay away to the east in Jabal ar-Ruwâḳ, where he knew he would find acquaintances from whom we could borrow or buy water-skins. This would make our day's ride four hours longer, but there was nothing else to be done, and we set out for the place at our best pace. We passed a well called 'Ain al-Bâridî on the way, but the water was full of salts and bitter. We reached 'Ain al-Wu'ûl without mishap, and there we met Mr. Dickson's messenger, who had been sent to bring me back to Damascus as already stated. Muḥammad found water-skins which he loaded on his two camels. We again set out on our way and followed the course of the Wâdî al-Kabîr for three hours, and then turned off to the north-west and in two hours more arrived at Ḳaṣr al-Ḥêr, where we decided to camp for a few hours. We all wished for hot coffee for the cold was great, but we were afraid to make a fire lest its light should bring us undesirable visitors, so having eaten our meal we tethered our beasts to each other and ourselves and lay down and slept.

When the false dawn showed itself Muḥammad rose and throwing his large cloak on the ground knelt down and said the dawn prayer; this done he lighted a large fire and we had breakfast. As the light grew stronger I saw the ruins of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥêr close by, and went to look at them. They covered a great deal of ground,

but all the ruins did not seem to belong to the same period. The decoration of some slabs at least must date from the time when Palmyra was a flourishing city. The remains of the town are visible for miles. In one part of the ruin-field were the remains of a large reservoir and an aqueduct.

We left our camping-ground a little after 5 a.m., November 5th, and during the first hour or two saw many jerboas, or "jumping mice,"[1] with long, thin, tufted tails; their bodies were about 8 inches long and their tails about 1 foot. They made extraordinarily long jumps with surprising quickness and travelled over the ground at a great pace. We also saw several small snakes on their way to their holes. But for our loss of time in going to 'Ain al-Wu'ûl we should have reached Palmyra in the evening of the 5th; as it was we decided to camp at 'Ain al-Bêḍâ, which we reached about noon. When we left Ḳaṣr al-Ḥêr a strong wind was blowing, and it increased in violence every hour; long before noon the air was full of sand in which the sun and the range of mountains on our right completely disappeared. Close by the well was a rectangular building like a small khân, which the Turkish Government had built as a rest-house for the soldiers who patrolled the Damascus-Palmyra road. The Turkish soldiers called the building "Ḳishla," or "fort," but Muḥammad spoke of it as "Al-Ḳarâkûl,"[2] at least I understood him to do so. When the soldiers in the rest-house saw us struggling to pitch the tent and make a fire, their captain came to me and invited us to take shelter with his men. We did so, and were thankful for a roof, for in the course of the afternoon the rain came down in torrents. There was a good room on each side of the gateway, and when the captain took me into the one which he occupied I suggested that it

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[1] See Bruce, *Travels*, Edinburgh, 1790, v., p. 121; Shaw, *Reisen*, i, p. 264.

[2] He probably meant "ḳarâghûl," قَرَاغُول, *i.e.*, captains of road-patrols; see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, p. 321; Freytag, iii, p. 430*a*.

would disturb him less if I took the other. He turned, and, beckoning me to follow him, went across the gateway and opened the door of the other room. When I looked in I saw eight dead Arabs lying on the floor. He then told me that his men had had a quarrel about way-dues the day before with the men of a caravan who had halted at the well, and that after someone had fired a rifle a general free fight took place. Eight of the men of the caravan were killed on the spot, several were wounded, and the rest ran away after their caravan. The captain explained why the bodies were lying there instead of being buried, but I could not make out the exact reason. On the whole I would rather have camped by the well, yet the shelter of the rest-house was a thing to be thankful for. The captain, like most Turks of the agricultural classes, turned out to be a "good fellow," and he shared our supper and provided wood for a fire, and Muḥammad got on well with him.

Just before sunset an individual arrived on horseback and claimed admission to the rest-house, and the captain being satisfied admitted him. He was soaked to the skin with rain, and his horse was much exhausted; he had no money and asked for food for himself and his beast. Muḥammad took the horse in hand and we brought his master in and made tea for him and gave him food. Late in the evening, after sleeping, he told us how and why he came to be there. He said that he had an appointment at the Porte, and that he had been sent on a mission to the various Turkish officials stationed in Northern Syria and further east; he spoke Turkish and a little French. Knowing no Turkish I could not follow what he said to the captain, but I gathered from his remarks to me that he had been sent by a Minister in Stambûl to confer decorations on the Ḳâ'im Maḳâms and Pâshâs of certain towns of which he had a long list. The Minister thought that officials who were profusely decorated would be held in greater honour by the people over whom they were set, and that their authority would be increased, and that in most cases decorations would be accepted by them in the place of

payment of arrears of salary. In fact, Osmân Bey, for that was his name, had been sent to sell decorations to anyone who could afford to pay for them. I asked him what he did with the money that was paid to him, and he told me that he handed it over to the local Government Treasurers who allowed him a percentage for his salary and travelling expenses. The captain said he would like to see some of the decorations, and Osmân fetched out of one of his saddle-bags a parcel carefully tied up in a waterproof cover. This contained several small leather-covered boxes, and when he opened some of these we saw they were filled with medals attached to coloured ribbons; whether they were genuine or not I could not say. He told us what expense attended the acquisition of each, and then we learned that each purchaser was expected to make him a little present. Finally he said that the captain and myself ought each to have a *nishân*, or decoration, and that he was willing to make special terms in our favour if we had the same opinion; but we had not. I shall never forget the scene of Osmân Bey with his dirty face and hands, unkempt, unshaven, with a double row of decorations on his left breast, his trousers torn at the knees and seat, and lacking several buttons, and his broken elastic-sided boots, offering the Orders of the Majidîyah and Osmânîyah for purchase by candlelight in a filthy guardroom at a rest-house in the Damascus Desert. Osmân was astir early the next morning to see us start, and as his greatest need seemed to be a smoke I gave him a tin of Capstan and some matches, and we parted on the best of terms.

We left 'Ain al-Bêḍâ at 5.30 a.m., November 6th, and soon afterwards we overtook a party of the Ṣalîbîyîn, or gazelle-hunters,[1] who stopped us and offered a few skins for purchase. From what Muḥammad told me about them they seemed to be a sort of gypsy tribe among the Arabs. They do no work, and are said to

[1] Described also by Dr. Halifax in 1695; see *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1890, p. 274.

spend their whole time in hunting gazelle; they live on the flesh of these animals and dress in their skins. They have no settled abode, no houses, and only a few tents; of their law and religion, if they have either, I could learn nothing. The men we saw were of comparatively small stature, and had black hair, narrow faces, pointed chins, and little wicked-looking eyes; they struck me as mean and despicable. About ten we came to the well of Abu'l-Fawâris, and Muḥammad laid in a supply of water for our use in Tudmur. Soon afterwards we caught sight of Ḳal'at al-Ma'an, which stands on a hill to the north of Tudmur, and of several tomb-towers. We rode on up the Valley of the Tombs (Wâdî al-Ḳubûr), and about noon the rise in the ground ended abruptly, and then in a moment the whole of the ruins of Palmyra lay on the plain under our eyes; a truly wonderful sight. The road down through the pass is not an easy one even by day, and it was two o'clock before we found our way down to the plain. The Ḳâ'im Maḳâm came to meet me and suggested that we should pitch our tent in the open space before the Great Temple of the Sun, and we did so. I presented my letter from the Wâlî of Damascus, which he glanced at but did not trouble to read, and he sent some of his own men to make a fire and do anything that we wanted. After a short rest the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm returned with two donkeys, and we set out to look at the ruins. We went through the large and the small temples, and looked at the gateways, and the rows of columns, with the general appearance of which I had long been familiar from the accurate drawings published by Robert Wood in 1753.[1] We traced the course of the long, Straight Street which ran for nearly a mile from south-east to north-west, and the bases of columns and inscriptions which we saw testified to the great number of the statues which had ornamented both sides of it. The remains of Justinian's walls and conduit or aqueduct were interesting, and when we had traced this some distance we turned back

[1] See his *Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor*, London, 1753.

and visited several of the remarkable tomb-towers which are dotted freely over the sides of the hills near the town, and saw many inscriptions and busts of deceased Palmyrenes, several being both named and dated. The columns and temples and the towers of the tombs assumed a yellowish-pink colour in the light of the setting sun, and looked remarkably picturesque.

Tudmur, like Karyatên, is an oasis, and it is to this fact that it owed its importance and wealth in times of old. It was the terminus for caravans going to and coming from the Persian Gulf and Babylon, and the great centre from which the products of India and Persia were distributed to the north and west. There must have been a town in the Oasis of Tudmur from time immemorial, and systematic excavations would probably bring remains of it to light. Though the town that stood there in the time of the Romans was called by them "Palmira"[1] and "Hadrianopolis," the natives always called it "Tadmor," or "Tudmur,"[2] and they do so to this day. The meaning of the name is unknown. In 2 Chronicles viii, 4, the town is said to have been built by Solomon, but the writer confounded "Tadmor" with Tâmâr, a town in Judea mentioned in Ezekiel xlvii, 19; xlviii, 28.[3] His mistake is important for it shows that Tudmur was an old and thriving town when he wrote. All the remains of temples, tombs, etc., which I saw at Tudmur belonged practically to the first three centuries of the Christian Era, and all were built under Greek or Roman influence. Though the people of Tudmur were Arabs and adopted the Aramean dialect and script[4] of Western

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[1] So spelled in Pliny v, 21 (25), 88.

[2] The form given in the Palmyrene inscriptions is Tadmûr, תדמור.

[3] When the Greeks called Tudmur Παλμύρα, or Παλμίρα, or the "place of palms," they seem to have confounded Tudmur with "tâmâr," תָּמָר, a palm tree.

[4] The oldest Semitic inscription at Palmyra is dated 304 of the Era of the Seleucidæ, *i.e.*, B.C. 9; see de Vogüé, *Inscriptions Sémitiques*, No. 30. This was pointed out by Dr. Halifax in his narrative printed in 1695. The oldest Greek inscription is one year older.

Syria, they used the Macedonian months and the Era of the Seleucidæ in dating their inscriptions. The finest buildings, sepulchral and otherwise, date from the third century, when Tudmur under Septimius Odhainat or Udhainat II (Ὀδαίναθος)[1] and Septimia Zenobia[2] attained the zenith of its wealth and power. After the destruction of Palmyra by the Emperor Aurelian in 273 its glory departed, though it continued to be of some importance down to the time of its conquest by the Arabs. Though some of the natives of Palmyra became Christians at the close of the third century, and the town was the seat of a bishop for two hundred years, nothing seemed to remain of their buildings. Khâlid ibn Walîd occupied the town A.H. 12 = A.D. 634, but he did it no harm and passed on to Damascus viâ Ḳaryatên ;[3] but because its inhabitants took the side of the 'Abbâsids, when Marwân II, the last 'Umayyad Khalîfah, captured it in 745, he threw down its walls and made the town a desert. The temples and gate-ways suffered irreparable damage through the great earthquake which took place in 1157,[4] and the gaping cracks in some of the walls probably date from this time. The Oasis of Tudmur and its buildings are often referred to in the works of Arabic poets, travellers and geographers,[5] but the writers knew very little about

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[1] This is the form given in the inscriptions published by de Vogüé and others ; the Palmyrene original is אדינת. His grandfather, the son of Ḥairan, חירן, son of Wahballath, והבלת, son of Naṣṣor, נצור, was also called Udhainat.

[2] Her native name was Bath Zabbai, *i.e.*, " daughter of Zabbai " ; she was a native of Palmyra and of Arab descent.

[3] Bilâdhurî, ed. de Goeje, pp. 111, 112.

[4] See Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, tome iii, p. 255 f. When Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela visited Tudmur sixteen years later, in spite of the earthquake he found there " 2,000 warlike Jews, who were at war with the Christians, and aided their neighbours the Mahomedans." He says that Tudmur was built by Solomon with stones as large as those of Ba'albak, from which place it is four days distant. See *Massâ'ôth shel Rabbi Binyâmîn*, ed. Asher, p. 87.

[5] See Iṣṭakhrî, p. 13 ; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 17 ; Muḳaddasî, p. 54 ; Mas'ûdî, iv, pp. 77, 78 ; Ibn Baṭûṭah, iv, p. 315 ; Abû'l-Fidâ, p. 89, etc. Yâḳût says (i, p. 829) that it was called Tadmur after Tadmur,

the true history of the place and its people. Tudmur was, even at the end of the fourteenth century, worth plundering, for Tîmûr sent a horde of his Tartars there and they plundered it and all the country round.[1]

According to Yâḳût (i, p. 831) Marwân, the last of the 'Umayyads, made an attempt to excavate one of the tombs after he conquered Tudmur. His authority for the information is Isma'îl ibn Muḥammad, ibn Khâlid, ibn 'Abd Allah al-Ḳaṣrî who was present and saw what he narrates. Marwân broke down the walls, rushed into the town and slew the people, and his horsemen trampled them under foot, and made their horses crush their flesh and bones together under their

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the daughter of Ḥassân, son of Udhaynah, son of Sumayda', son of Mazîd, son of 'Amalîḳ, son of Lâwdh, son of Sâm (Shem), son of Noah. He quotes passages from the works of several poets, mentioning the size and splendour of the buildings at Tudmur and the beauty of the sculptures there.

[1] The first good modern account of the ruins of Tudmur we owe to Dr. William Halifax, of C.C.C., Oxford, Chaplain to the Factory at Aleppo. This divine visited them in October, 1691, and copied some of the inscriptions there, both in Greek and Palmyrene, and wrote a careful account of the temples, etc., which he published in *Philosophical Transactions*, London, 1695, pp. 83–110, 125–137, 138–160. Some of his copies of inscriptions were omitted from this edition, but fortunately complete manuscript copies of both text and inscriptions were in the possession of Mr. Albert Hartshorne and Mr. E. G. Western, and the full account was printed in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1890, London, 1891, p. 273 ff. Dr. Halifax tells us that "The Name of Tadmor occurring in Scripture among ye sumptuous buildings of K. Solomon, and ye acct. of ruines of an extraordinary Magnificence still remaining there, having bin brought to Alep° partly by ye inhabitants of ye countrey and partly by those who had occasionally passed by y^t^ place, togeth wth its vicinity not being s^d^ to be above .3. or .4. dayes distant from hence, excited ye curiosity of some of our Merch^ts^, together wth Dr Huntington, An° 1678, to make a voy^e^ thither: But these Gentlemen were no sooner arrived there at Tadmor, but they fell unhappily into ye hands of a Comp^e^ of Arabian Robbers, comanded by one Melham, to satisfy whom they were constrained to part wth their very clothes; w^c^h great los & ye ffright together so palld their curiosity y^t^ they staied not to take a more exact survey of ye ancient ruines, but imediately returned home & glad to escape so." Dr. Halifax took with him "in all ffrankes and serv^ts^ about 30 men, well armed."

hoofs. Then he dug into a large hollow place and removed a slab of stone, and discovered a plastered chamber containing a bier, on which was stretched out a woman lying on her back. There were seventy ornaments on her body, and in her hair was a tablet of gold on which was inscribed, "O my God, I, Tadmur, the "daughter of Ḥassân [invoke] Thy Name. May God "make the wasting disease enter into the men who "shall enter this my house." Then Marwân ordered his diggers to replace the stones and shovel away the débris, and to restore the place to its former condition, and he did not carry away a single ornament belonging to the Queen. Five years later Marwân was murdered, A.D. 750.

The modern town of Tudmur consists now, as it did in Dr. Halifax's time, of some thirty or forty miserable little houses grouped near the large temple, and in the evening the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm took me there and showed me some very fine Palmyrene busts, and a large miscellaneous collection of small objects of various periods. I pointed out some eight or ten busts with names and dates cut on the slabs, which I said we should like to have in the British Museum, and the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm undertook to send them to London. In due course they arrived and were purchased by the Trustees, and they are now in the Semitic Room in the Second Northern Gallery. The violent changes of weather and the sudden alternations of heat and cold make Tudmur a very unhealthy place to live in. The day had been warm and pleasant, but two hours after sunset the cold was intense and it seemed to be impossible to get warm. About 1 a.m., on November 7th, a violent thunder-storm broke over us quite suddenly, and the deluge of rain came upon us so quickly that the flat ground where our tent was pitched became a pool of water in a few minutes. Muḥammad and I and the beasts took refuge in the great temple, but there was not much sleep to be had that night. When day broke the whole plain was covered with a dense white fog in which the smell of sulphur was strong.

In spite of the kindness of the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm, who pressed me to stay three days and visit some ancient buildings which he said lay to the south, I determined to push on and we left Tudmur at 7 a.m. and began our journey across the desert to Dêr az-Zûr. We rode a little out of our way so as to pass the northern end of the crescent-shaped salt lake called "Mamlaḥah," and again when we came near Ḳaṣr al-Aḥmar, where there were a few unimportant ruins. We left the warm white fog behind us soon after we left Tudmur, and we found the heat of the day very great. We decided not to halt anywhere, and we pressed on until we reached Arak, or Arku, at 2 p.m. We pitched our tent at a little distance from the well, which in ancient and modern times has formed the only water supply for the settlement. A town of considerable size existed here in the Byzantine period, and was called "Aracha";[1] its garrison were natives and were under the control of the Duke of Euphratensian Syria. It was captured by the Arabs under Khâlid ibn Walîd about A.H. 14[2] = A.D. 635, and was in the days of Yâḳût (died 1229) much what it was when I saw it, "a little town in the desert of Aleppo near Tudmur with palms and olive trees."[3] Dr. Halifax calls Arak "Yarecca," and like myself found its excellent water "a most welcome refreshment in such a thirsty desert."[4] There was a small company of Turkish soldiers in the Ḳishla, or rest-house fort, a little way up the hill, and most obligingly the officer delayed quarantine until the day I left. No question of quarantine was raised at Tudmur, but though that place is nominally under a Turkish Ḳâ'im Maḳâm, the natives were a law unto themselves, and I never heard that they paid taxes. The shêkh of the village, Muhammad ibn Fâris, was an old acquaintance of Muḥammad, and acting under his advice I bought a sheep and invited

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[1] See *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. Seeck, Berlin, 1876, p. 70, note 3.
[2] Bilâdhurî, p. 110.
[3] Vol. i, p. 210.
[4] In his day the natives paid their overlord 300 dollars per annum; see *Quarterly Statement* for 1890, p. 295.

the soldiers and head-men of the village to share it with me at supper. The soldiers and the shêkh showed us great kindness and helped us in every way to leave Arak the next day. They were not afraid of cholera being brought into Arak, but when once quarantine was proclaimed they hoped to be able to make much money from passing caravans.

We left Arak at 5.15 a.m., November 8th, and soon after crossed Wâdî Thumêd and passed a ruined khân. An hour later we crossed another Wâdî, and on the eastern side of it met a large body of the 'Agêl tribe marching to the south. Several of their men rode up to us on their camels looking very terrible and ferocious, and just when I was wondering if there was to be a repetition of my experience at the hands of the Shammar, I saw the 'Agêl shêkh and my Muḥammad jump off their camels and run towards each other, and then fall on each other's necks and kiss each other. It turned out that they were very old friends, and their delight at seeing each other was quite genuine. The 'Agêl shêkh came up to me and carried me off to a group of his people, and though I greatly regretted the loss of time, I had to sit on a bale and wait for coffee to be made. The coffee-maker to the tribe appeared with a block of wood with a large cavity in it, and the ordinary brass *ibrîk* or coffee-pot. A fire was lighted and the green coffee-berries were roasted over it, and when they had been poured into the cavity in the block, the coffee-maker began to pound them into a paste with a rod of hard wood. When the paste was of the proper consistency it was taken out and put into the coffee-pot, and water poured on it and boiled, and after seven boilings the liquid was poured into brass *finâgîn*, or cups, and we drank, each saying to the other "'Âfâk Allah," *i.e.*, "God keep thee in good health." At length Muḥammad said to the shêkh "Ḳûm," *i.e.*, "get up," and the shêkh gave me a gift of dates and I gave him a gift of Capstan tobacco, and we parted. Whilst the shêkh had been entertaining me, other members of his tribe had been to the Turkish officers and the lady who had

continued their journey with us and made them pay "way money." About noon, near a place called Al-Ḳubbah, where there were several mounds, but whether natural or artificial I could not tell, we overtook a good-sized caravan which was making for Sukhnah. Presently, its owner, an elderly man, made his camel kneel and got off it, and Muḥammad leaped down from his camel, and the two men ran towards each other and embraced and kissed; again two old friends had met. We then journeyed on towards Sukhnah, and the ḳarawân-bâshî told me that he was going there to buy camels. I learned that breeders of camels from all parts of the country assembled there once a year with the beasts they wanted to sell, and that much business was done on these occasions. We arrived at Sukhnah at two o'clock and pitched our tent a little way from the town.

The name "Sukhnah" means "hot," and the town owes this name to the hot sulphur springs which abound there; Yâḳût refers to these[1] and says it was peopled by Arabs. Ibn Baṭûṭah visited the place and mentions that baths were set apart there for women, and that the people took their baths at night and stretched themselves out on the terraces to get cool.[2] Caravan roads from all parts of the country meet here, and in mediæval times it was a great trading centre. I saw a few very badly built and mean houses up the hill. The baths were of the depth and form which nature gave to them, and they reminded me of the baths of Ḥammam 'Alî near Môṣul. In the late afternoon Muḥammad took me to look at the camels that were tethered in rows near the town, literally by thousands. He pointed out to me many very fine camels and described their pedigrees at great length, and I came to the conclusion that he carried a sort of camel peerage in his head. It was an extraordinary sight and I was glad to see it. Many of the owners of the camels knew Muḥammad and were ready to do anything for us. But I found it impossible

[1] Vol. iii, p. 52.

[2] Vol. iv, p. 315.

to go through all the camel-lines, for the smell of the beasts was sickening and overpowering. Most of them had been there for a few days and had drunk of the sulphur-impregnated water of Sukhnah with results that are better imagined than described. On our way back Muḥammad met the shêkh of the camels and he took us to his tent and gave us some very good coffee. A little before sunset a party of strolling players arrived; they came from Aleppo and were on their way to Dêr az-Zûr and Baghdâd. They were warmly welcomed by the camel-men and they agreed to give a performance that evening near the baths. The company consisted of four actors with their male assistants and a very old woman and a girl. A few acts were performed in which the great Arab warrior Antar was personified, and these were followed by a mimic battle which was quite interesting. The protagonists were well "got up," and several of their weapons were really old; the duel was greatly appreciated by the audience who roared with delight and insisted on the conqueror killing his enemy several times. Then came a series of acrobatic feats well performed, and from this point onward the standard and character of the entertainment deteriorated. There was a great deal of buffoonery, very clever of its sort, and I much regretted that I could not follow the topical allusions. Money was collected on behalf of the actors all the time, and everyone who was seen to be enjoying himself was promptly asked for piastres. Towards midnight the whole company, including the old woman and the girl, appeared together, the men wearing nothing but turbans and the woman and girl nothing but a sort of yâshmaḳ tied behind their heads. They were greeted with shouts of delight on the part of the camel-men, and the bathers, male and female, who were lying about in extremely scanty attire, crowded round to see the fun. The acting and the dancing were grossly indecent, and any adequate description of the scenes represented is unprintable. This entertainment went on for many hours and was only brought to an end by the paraffin lamps in the lanterns going out. The walk back to our

tent between lines of camels seemed interminable, and in the dim lantern light the gurgling and grunting and smelly beasts assumed colossal proportions.

We had now to prepare for our journey across the desert which lies between Sukhnah and Dêr az-Zûr. We had filled our water-skins at Arak and therefore had no need to drink the sulphur water at Sukhnah, but we had not enough to take us on to Dêr az-Zûr. So we were obliged to fill up our water-skins before we left the town, for Muḥammad thought it quite likely that we should not be able to find the only well in the desert (Bîr al-Ḳabâḳib), and even if we did we should find the water too bitter to drink. We expected to be joined by the three Turkish officers and the lady who had come with us to Sukhnah the day before, but heard that they had already set off three hours before daylight. Turkish officers were not at that time popular among the Arabs, and the few soldiers who were quartered at Sukhnah advised our travelling companions to leave the town in the dark. But we were to have with us the fine old Arab and his caravan until the evening at least, and Muḥammad and I were glad. We left Sukhnah at 11.25 a.m., November 9th, and took the track on the eastern side of the long range of mountains which had been on our left all the way from Tudmur. At two o'clock we passed Tall al-Maiyâlât on our right, and began to cross a flat and truly horrible desert. The ground was greyish-white and of a stony character, and threw up into our faces the fierce heat which beat upon it from the sun; this part of the desert was perfectly flat and stretched away into infinite distance: and the silence was almost frightening. The animals reeked of sulphur, and their riders found the atmosphere decidedly unpleasant. About four o'clock we overtook the Turkish officers, and we all rode on together until 6.15, when we two camped for a while. Muḥammad made a fire to cook our supper, and as we were doing this the Turkish officers came up and wanted us to put the fire out, as they were afraid that its light would discover us to wandering Arabs. Whilst

we were arguing this matter we heard suddenly the sound made by the pads of camels' feet, and very soon after a large body of Arabs armed with spears and "gas-pipe guns" rode up. Before I had time to be alarmed I saw Muḥammad and his friend with the caravan embracing some of the new-comers, and then I learned that they all were members of the 'Agêl tribe, and we all squatted down and ate together. But the Turkish officers fared less well than I, for some of the 'Agêl went to them whilst we were eating and demanded "way money" from them. As they had none to give, or said they had not, the Arabs "went through" their baggage and took what they liked, whilst the officers watched their property being taken and said nothing. The 'Agêl shêkh exchanged dates with me for tobacco, and then he and his men departed, and we tried to sleep, but with little success. At 11.30 p.m. Muḥammad said, "Ḳûm," *i.e.*, "get up," and in about half an hour we were on our way again. We found that the Turkish officers had already set off, and we did not see them again. A little before sunrise Muḥammad's friend and his caravan left us, I think to go to 'Ânah.

We rode all night and only stopped for a few minutes a little before daybreak that the men might say the dawn prayer. The air was cool, and as darkness covered that terrible desert all the depression which it had caused in me vanished. We arrived at Bîr al-Ḳabâḳib at 9.15 a.m., November 10th, and decided to stay there for the day. We found a large caravan there, and its shêkh showed me much kindness for the sake of Muḥammad, who was an old friend of his. Bir al-Ḳabâḳib and the district of Ḳabâḳib itself are well known to Muḥammadan writers, and in the eighth century the Arabs built a reservoir and maintained a garrison there.[1] Yâḳût mentions the river Ḳabâḳib which flowed into the Euphrates, and the water station of Ḳabâḳib, which belonged to the Banu Ta'lab,[2] and it is probable that scores of generations of men have camped by the

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[1] Bilâdhurî, p. 187.

[2] Vol. iv, p. 26.

well and drunk of its waters. The stone lining at its mouth has in it many deep grooves that have been made by the ropes by which the water-skins are drawn up from its depths. The water was very bitter, but drinkable, and it was far more palatable than that of Sukhnah. The day was very hot and the hours seemed endless; there was nowhere to go, nothing to see, and nothing to do except chase the shadow made by a heap of bales. The sun went down among a mass of angry-looking clouds, and in the evening puffs of hot wind blew across the desert from time to time. It seemed to me that a storm of some kind was coming, and I suggested to Muḥammad that we should stay with the caravan folk for the night; but he did not approve of this idea, and said that if a great storm came we might be held up there for a week. About 10 p.m. the night was beautiful and the sky was filled with great stars, and a little before midnight we set out for Dêr az-Zûr.

About 3 a.m. the air behind us seemed to be filled with heavy, moaning sounds, which came nearer and nearer, and at the same time the stars disappeared entirely as if a thick curtain had been drawn across the heavens, and the darkness could almost be felt. A few minutes later we heard the roar of a great storm of wind behind, and we had hardly got the camels down on their knees before it rushed upon us. The wind was hot and stifling and was heavily charged with sand and dust, which made breathing, except through a handkerchief, a torture; all the animals, except the camels, were much distressed. The *habûb*,[1] or hurricane, passed, and in half an hour or so there was a great calm; we picked ourselves up out of the heaps of sand and dust which had half buried the beasts and ourselves, and found that we were none the worse. The air was filled with a fine dust, and when the day came this surrounded us like a thick white fog, and we could not see anything more than a few yards away; and worst of all the track had disappeared. Muḥammad thought he could find

[1] This word is probably akin to the Assyrian *a-bu-bu* 𒀀𒁁 𒌨𒌨

his way to Dêr az-Zûr all the same, and we set out and rode until 7 a.m., November 11th. Then Muḥammad suddenly said, "the way is lost," and he did not know where we were, although he had an idea; but he was quite certain from the nature of the ground that we had lost our way. He said we must sit down and wait for the sand in the air to settle, and that it was useless to attempt to move until he could see two hills, one on the west bank of the Euphrates and one on the east bank, "side by side, like a woman's breasts." We therefore sat down and waited, and he kept his eyes fixed in an easterly direction. About ten a light wind from the south-east began to blow, and very soon after we saw a line of trees and vegetation which marked the course of the Euphrates. We mounted and rode towards it, and suddenly he pointed right ahead, and we saw the two hills he was looking for. They looked exactly like two large rounded shields, and though they were many miles apart they seemed to be close together.[1] But unfortunately, when we set out after the sand-storm we rode too much to the north of the road to Dêr az-Zûr, and when we found our bearings we were still many miles from the town. But there was no place near the river where we could stop for the night, so we dragged ourselves slowly over the rocky track and reached Dêr az-Zûr, or, as natives say, "Ad-Dêr," *i.e.*, "the Monastery," about two o'clock. Our beasts did not wait to be unloaded but rushed to the river bank and thrust their muzzles into the beautiful water of the Euphrates and drank as if they had never drunk before.

Dêr az-Zûr is a small and unimportant town on the west bank of the Euphrates, with a few thousand inhabitants, several hundreds of whom are Christians. The ancient history of the town is unknown, but judging by the size of the quarries which are near it, and the remains of a

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[1] The eastern hill is called "Ḥujêr al-Jazîrah," *i.e.*, the "little shield of Jazîrah," and the western "Ḥujêr ash-Shâm," *i.e.*, the "little shield of Syria."

mighty dam on the Euphrates and of a well-built stone embankment, a large and flourishing city must have stood here in the early centuries of the Christian Era. Rauwolf, who stayed three days in the town in 1573, says it is "pretty well built with Houses . . . but as for the Walls and Ditches they are but very slight. . . . We got acquaintance with the Inhabitants, which were handsome, lusty, and well-set, and white, and more mannerly than the rest; they visited us frequently, and spoke kindly to us, so that we found a vast Difference between those and the former."[1] He also praises the gardens round Dêr.[2]

I found a lodging in the house of an 'Agêl Arab, another friend of Muḥammad's, who, before attempting to offer me any food, brought a large *tisht* or flat bath like a tray into the reception room of his house with a good supply of hot water and invited me to have a bath. This was a great luxury, for I had not been able to take all my clothes off since I left Tudmur. I had frequently tried rubbing the limbs with warm sand and found it very soothing to the body and refreshing, but it was inferior to a bath for cleansing purposes. Having eaten, Muḥammad and I went to see about the grooming of our beasts, and when this was done we went into the bazâr to replenish our stock of provisions for the last and longest stage of our journey to Môṣul. We found some quite good shops, and a very civil Armenian supplied us with most of the things which we wanted. I was surprised to find that so many European commodities were to be found there. The Armenian told me that he had often catered for British officers when they were riding from Baghdâd to Aleppo or to Damascus. He not only supplied me with rice, sugar, tea, coffee, etc., but packed all dry goods in canisters which a neighbour made to order for him. Even the pepper, salt and matches were contained in little tin boxes with well-fitting covers.

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[1] *I.e.*, the inhabitants of the other towns that he had passed through.

[2] Ray's *Collection*, vol. i, p. 160.

In the morning of November 12th I went to the Sarâyah to ask the Mutaṣarrif to provide me with a couple of soldiers to escort me to Môṣul. I was taken into the room of this official without delay and he received me very courteously, and asked many questions about the state of the country through which we had come. I told him that the only bother we had was at a place about fifteen miles from Dêr, where two common thieves tried to steal our saddle-bags, but that we easily beat them off with the cudgels which the mule-men had with them. The Mutaṣarrif asked which route we intended to follow, and I told him that I proposed to go down to the mouth of the Khâbûr river, and then to make my way as directly as possible to the western end of the Sinjâr hills, and then journey eastwards to the Tigris. He said that he feared that route was closed, because the Shammar and the Jabûr tribes were at war, and that all that district was in a state of great unrest. The cholera had caused much trouble, the caravan services had been seriously affected, and everywhere men were fighting for food. Meanwhile he would try to find a couple of soldiers to escort me, and if he succeeded he would send them to me the following day. I was not sorry to have a day's rest in Dêr, for our beasts needed it. I spent the afternoon in going about with Muḥammad and my host and seeing the town. When we had seen the mosque and the larger church, both of which contained capitals of pillars, etc., which belonged to buildings of the pre-Islâmic period, we took donkeys and rode through some beautiful gardens and plantations which followed the course of the river. We saw oxen drawing up skins full of water from the river in primitive fashion, and every here and there a waterwheel with earthenware pots attached to the rim as in some parts of Egypt.

In the morning of November 13th I made enquiries at the Sarâyah for the soldiers whom the Mutaṣarrif said he would try to find for me, and I was glad to learn that two were to be sent to me that afternoon. Muḥammad and I packed up our belongings, but as the

soldiers did not appear until 3 p.m. it was too late to start that day. Moreover, the soldiers said they must go and bid their "houses" (*i.e.*, wives) farewell before they left Dêr, and, of course, asked for "something on account." I decided to cross the Euphrates that evening so that we might be ready to make a start early the following morning. At four o'clock we took our beasts to the ferry and they were driven into two large boats, one of which leaked. As we had hired both boats, and this fact had in some extraordinary way become known, all sorts of natives came down to the river and began pushing their way into the boats in order to get a passage across the river for nothing, and it was impossible to stop them. The ferryman had placed the mules with their loads on their backs in the middle of the second boat, which was a very rickety affair, and told their driver not to let them go further into the boat because the timbers were weak. Just as the boat was being pushed off there was an extra rush of men on to it, with the result that the mules were pushed forward on to the weak planks, and the whole floor of that part of the boat collapsed, and the mules sank in the river up to their necks. They were got out with great difficulty, but not before our bedding and tent and a box of provisions were soaked with water. It was almost dark when we reached the other side, and we were obliged to go to the local khân for the night. In the evening I sent Muḥammad out to gather what information he could about the state of the country through which we proposed to pass, and when he returned he was quite convinced that we must not attempt to travel to Sinjâr by the east bank of the Khâbûr. His opinion was shared by the soldiers and by several Baggârah shêkhs, and we decided to set out the next morning for Aṣ-Ṣaw'ar on the west bank of the Khâbûr and to travel northwards.

We left Dêr az-Zûr at 6 a.m., November 14th, and marched for several hours across a perfectly waterless desert in an eastward direction ; at 2 p.m. we passed over a series of shallow depressions which in the rainy season

were filled with salt water, and for this reason were called Al-Mâlaḥah. That desert was a territory of the Baggârah Arabs, who were at that time suffering severely from the attacks of the Shammar. A further ride of two hours brought us to Aṣ-Ṣaw'ar,[1] on the Khâbûr, and we camped at a place near the ferry. A little distance from the modern village were the remains of a town of considerable size, and in several places the track of the walls could be plainly seen. Fragments of glazed pottery were lying about all over the site, but none of them seemed to be older than the thirteenth or fourteenth century. In three or four places I saw traces of the kind of excavation which I had begun to associate with native searches for antiquities, but one of the men told me that many years before the English had sent men to dig up the mound. I knew that a native called Na'ûm made attempts to dig there in 1881,[2] but it is quite possible that Layard sent men to dig there in 1850, though there is no mention of such a thing in his account of the excavations he carried out on the Khâbûr. The Turkish soldiers stationed at Aṣ-Ṣaw'ar for quarantine purposes gave me no trouble, but they quarrelled freely with the two who came with me.

We left Aṣ-Ṣaw'ar at 7 a.m., and as I had an attack of fever the day before we only rode as far as Marḳadah, where we arrived at 2.10 p.m. We passed Tall al-Ḥusên, a long low mound about 40 feet high, which no doubt contained the remains of an ancient Arab town; almost opposite to it on the east bank of the Khâbûr was Tall ash-Shêkh Aḥmad, which marks the site of another old town, but I have not been able to identify either of them. A few miles further on we passed an old ford across the Khâbûr. During the afternoon, taking a native with me, I went to look at the hill of Marḳadah. It was a nearly square mound about a

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[1] So the name is spelled by Sachau; I have never seen it written in Arabic by a native.

[2] Sachau, *Reise*, p. 191.

furlong in length and 60 feet high. The general appearance of the ground about it suggested that the mound itself contained the remains of the fortified buildings of the old town, and that the town must have been of considerable size. The large blocks of worked stone on both banks of the Khâbûr seemed to indicate the existence of a bridge in the old days, and if this were so the town must have been of great importance. Iṣṭakhrî says that there were two towns on the Khâbûr between Râs al-'Ain and Ḳarḳisîyâ (Circesium), where it flowed into the Euphrates, viz., 'Arâbân, and Mâkîsîn or Mâkêsîn.[1] Now the site of 'Arâbân is well known, but that of Mâkîsîn is still unidentified, and it is possible the mound of Marḳadah contains its ruins. The same writer mentions the bridge of Mâkîsîn, but it may have been a bridge of boats. We had some trouble with the quarantine officer at Marḳadah, and we pitched our tent some distance from the village, there being several cases of cholera there.

We left Marḳadah at 6.45 a.m., November 16th, and rode nearly due north, leaving the Khâbûr away on the right, and we followed a track near the range of hills on the west, which was called "Khism," and had almost the shape of the letter S. We then bore a little to the east so as to get a sight of Tall Shamsânîyah, which Layard visited in 1850.[2] The large Tall[3] is surrounded by many small mounds, and all the ground about it was strewn with pottery of Arab manufacture and bricks of different periods. The ruins of the old fort were easily discernible. A few miles further on we saw Tall Fad'am on the east bank of the river, and next we passed Tall Lajmîyât on the west bank of the river, just opposite to the reedy jungle on the east bank, which the natives call "Al-Bistân" or the "garden

[1] The town was important for its excellent textile fabrics, made from the cotton which grew in abundance along the banks of the Khâbûr. For Arab notices of the town see Iṣṭakhrî, p. 74 (note *h*); Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 139; Muḳaddasî, p. 138; Yâḳût, iv, p. 396, etc.

[2] He calls it "Shemshânî" (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 298).

[3] See Muḳaddasî, pp. 34, 138, and Yâḳût, iii, p. 319.

thicket." Layard camped here in 1850.[1] Soon after we started in the morning it began to rain, and later in the day the rain was driven in our faces by a strong wind, and our progress was slow. We pressed onwards and arrived at Shaddâdî, or Shaddâdîyah, at 3.15, where there is a ford over the Khâbûr. The people received us very kindly, and as Muḥammad and our two soldiers had friends among them we were well treated. The Ḳâ'im Maḳâm and the quarantine officer gave us no trouble. The ruins near the modern town were not very interesting, and curiously enough most of the stones which formed the old fortress had disappeared. As in Layard's time fragments of bricks and pottery strewed the ground.

As we had been obliged to follow the Khâbûr instead of crossing the desert direct to Môṣul, I determined to take the opportunity of visiting the ruins of 'Arâbân, where Layard carried on excavations in 1850. When I made enquiries with this object in view I found that I could not carry out my intention unless I made a journey there specially from Shaddâdîyah, and it would delay me a whole day. But I felt that I might never be in that region again and I therefore set about hiring camels for the journey. The Ḳâ'im Maḳâm gave me every assistance, and lent me a couple of soldiers, and we set out in heavy rain at 6 a.m., November 17th. Our camels were good and strong, and we reached 'Arâbân, or Tall 'Ajâbah, as the natives call it, in about four hours and a half. I found the places where Layard had dug, and also one of the two winged man-headed bulls which the Arabs had told him about, and which he uncovered completely. It seemed to me to be a prototype of the bulls of Khorsabad and Ḳuyûnjiḳ, but the details of the sculpture were quite different, and it was much smaller, being only about 5 feet long and nearly 4 feet high. The bulls of Sargon II at Khorsabad are much larger and are majestic and imposing figures, but they lack the characteristic decoration of the bull of

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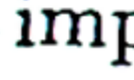
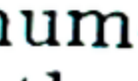
[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

'Arâbân. There was a good deal of water in the river and the plinth on which the bull stood was partly covered by it. Rain and wind had obliterated the traces of many of the shafts and tunnels which Layard made, but the position of some of them could be guessed. It is a great pity that he did not dig out the three large mounds, for the things which he found[1] suggest that important discoveries were to be made there. It has been said that the second bull is hidden away in the cellars of the British Museum, but such is not the case. It is quite possible that Layard may have had it dragged across the desert to Môṣul, though the work would have been very difficult to perform, but if he did, and it came to England, it was not sent to the British Museum. The mass of ruins was, even in 1890, more than 60 feet high, and proves, in my opinion, that the earliest town which stood here was older than the Assyrian kingdoms founded by Shalmaneser I (B.C. 1320), Ashur-naṣir-pal (B.C. 885), and Sargon II (B.C. 720). The site of 'Arâbân must always have been an important place and a great trading centre, and the numerous Egyptian scarabs,[2] etc., which Layard found there suggest a considerable trade between the Khâbûr[3] and Egypt. In the Middle Ages 'Arâbân was famous for its cotton industry, and it is possible that in ancient days it exported cotton stuffs to Egypt on a large scale. There is abundant proof that the Romans maintained several garrisons on the

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[1] They are described in *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 276 ff.

[2] Described by Birch (Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 280) and by me in my *Mummy*, pp. 251, 252. Another scarab from 'Arâbân was presented to the British Museum by Mrs. Garratt in 1917. It was given by Layard to Miss de Salis, and bears on it a figure of Anubis or Set.

[3] This king states in his Annals that he received tribute from several peoples on the Khâbûr  (*nâru*) Kha-bur, among them being the Kardikanai,  (*alu*) Kar-di-kan-ai, and some Assyriologists think that Kardikan was the town on the site of which 'Arabân now stands. See Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscrip.*, i, pl. 19, l. 78, and Hommel, *Geschichte*, pp. 557, 558. The Khâbûr, *i.e.*, the "Fish-river," is the חָבוּר of 2 Kings xvii, 6, and *not* the Kĕbhâr of Ezekiel iii, 15, which was a canal in Babylonia.

Khâbûr,[1] and there is no doubt that 'Arâbân[2] was a training ground for warriors for centuries before the Arabs conquered the country. Several early Arab geographers mention 'Arâbân, and speak of its great cotton industry,[3] but as Ibn Jubêr and Ibn Baṭûṭah, who travelled over all that region, say nothing about it, we may assume that it had lost all its importance in the thirteenth century. The most eloquent testimony to the size of the town and the volume of its traffic eastwards is the large fragment of the massive stone bridge, which once spanned the river, but now stands some way to the west of it, for the Khâbûr has changed its course at this point. The general appearance of the Arabic inscription near one of the remaining pillars suggested to me that the bridge was either built or repaired in the tenth century.

It rained heavily the whole time we were at 'Arâbân, and the general state of the ground round the mounds showed that much rain had fallen on it during the last few days. We left the ruins at 2 p.m., and arrived at Shaddâdîyah when it was dark. With some difficulty the ferryman was found, and he did not like the task of taking us over to the eastern bank. But we arrived there safely and the natives brought us milk and helped us to dry our clothes and did all they could to assist us. Those who were weather-wise begged us to stay there for a few days, because they said there was going to be much rain in the course of the week; but we all were anxious to move on, and we decided to leave the next morning. In the course of the evening a caravan arrived from Môṣul by way of Sinjâr, 'Îrân, Siḥl, Al-Ḳaṣâbah, and Al-'Ônî, and its leader gave a very bad account of the route which they had followed, and said that all the red clay lands were practically

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[1] See *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. O. Seeck), Berlin, 1876, chapters xxxv and xxxvi.

[2] "Equites sagittarii indigenae Arabanenses . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[3] *E.g.*, Iṣṭakhrî, p. 74; Ibn Ḥawḳal, pp. 139, 150 ff.; Muḳaddasi, pp. 54, 138. Yâḳût says it was "a small town on the Khâbûr, in the province of Jazîrah" (iii, p. 632), but gives no information about it.

impassable. We had intended to follow this route to Sinjâr, but Muḥammad decided that we had better continue our journey northwards and try to strike a track which he knew of to the south of the salt lake at the western end of the Sinjâr range.

We left Shaddâdîyah at 7 a.m., November 18th, and according to Muḥammad's decision we rode northwards. The day was bright and clear and we made good progress, and were glad that we had resumed our journey. We passed several mounds, among them being Tall 'Arḳânah and Tall Musêṭîr, and about noon we crossed a road to 'Arâbân and left a little range of hills on our right. Then suddenly the sun disappeared and great heavy clouds banked themselves up, and by one o'clock rain was falling heavily, and going became difficult. We passed Mishnaḳ,[1] and then Abû Shulah,[2] and several small mounds, but soaked to the skin as we were I had no wish to stop to look at anything. We hoped to reach Tall Ṭâ'bân by the time of sunset, but the poor camels slithered and slipped about on the greasy ground to such an extent that we moved very slowly. The rain continued to fall, and as the evening came on this changed to icy sleet, and when darkness fell and Ṭâ'bân was not in sight, the beasts and ourselves were miserable sights. Presently out of the gloom, away in the west, three horsemen appeared galloping towards us with their long spears poised in their hands as if to attack us; Muḥammad managed to make his camel trot and rode to meet them, and meanwhile we pushed on as fast as we could. Presently we saw that the horsemen had no intention of calling upon us to stand and deliver, for they rode up to us with Muḥammad, and one of them told me that they had been sent by their shêkh to bring us to his camp, where he wished us to pass the night. Their words and bearing were so friendly that I decided to go with them and in a very short time we came to their encampment, which contained many tents. They

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[1] Mentioned by Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 304.
[2] Spelling uncertain; see Layard, *ibid.*, p. 304.

stopped the soldiers and the animals at one of their outer tents and several men came up and began to take off the loads, and whilst this was being done I was led to a large tent in the middle of the camp, where I found the shêkh. He received me very cordially, and seeing the rain running off me and making a little pool about me, he clapped his hands, and when his people came running to him he told them to bring clothes and cushions. I asked for one of my bullock-trunks to get some dry clothes out of it, but he said that not a box of mine should be opened ; and taking up a sort of long shirt and a large camel-hair cloak he told me to put them on. When I asked about the feeding of the animals he said that he had told his men to attend to them, that I was his brother, that his tent was my tent, and that everything he had was his and mine. I said no more, and taking off my own dripping clothes I dressed myself in the shêkh's garments amid the criticism of many spectators. The shêkh and I sat down opposite to each other near a very smoky fire, and with the simple directness of the Arab he asked my name, my business, and my destination. When I had answered these questions I asked him by what name men called him, and he said "Masalat," and reeled out his pedigree, which I do not remember. He said that he belonged to a branch of the great 'Anazah tribe, and described at great length the extent of his ancestors' dominions.

Whilst we were talking some men brought in a huge brass tray heaped up with steaming rice and large pieces of mutton, and he and several of his chief men and I lay round it and made a good meal. The mutton and rice were followed by another tray with a lavish supply of flat bread-cakes and large lumps of Sinjâr honey-comb, and both cakes and honey were very good. When coffee was brought we withdrew to our cushions, and my host began to ask questions and to talk. He questioned me keenly about England and her Army and Navy, and Queen Victoria and India, and was very anxious that the English should take Stambûl. He

said that he liked the English because he was a kinsman of the English, and when I asked how this came about he told me that a shêkh called Mijwâl, of the branch of the 'Anazah tribe to which he belonged, had married the beautiful "Sittah Inglîzîyah Khâtûn Dakba," by whom he meant Elizabeth Digby (Lady Ellenborough). Mijwâl and his English wife lived in a house in Damascus half the year and in tents in the neighbourhood of Damascus the other half, and it was near Damascus that Masalat first saw her. He said that when the English Khâtûn died Mijwâl took her money which she always carried in boxes about the desert, and brought it into Damascus and gave it into the hands of the English Consul[1] to distribute among Christian and Muslim charities equally. He said that all the Arabs loved her, not only because she conformed to all their laws and customs, nor because of her "heart of gold" and great charities, but because she understood horses, and was a good horsewoman, and because she could fly a falcon as well as any Arab. She spoke well both Arabic and Turkish, and Masalat said her voice was like the trumpet of Isrâfîl[2] for sweetness. Her only defect in Masalat's opinion was that she gave her Arab lord no children.[3]

The talk passed from the Khâtûn to excavations

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[1] The English Consul was W. H. Wrench, who told me the same thing in Constantinople.

[2] Arab tradition says that he has the sweetest voice of all God's creatures, and that his heart-strings are a lute.

[3] Jane Elizabeth Digby married Lord Ellenborough in 1824, and he divorced her in 1830. (See the *Report of Minutes of Evidence*, London, 1830, Brit. Mus. press-mark T. 1297 (7).) She married Shêkh Mijwâl in 1856 or 1857, and lived happily with him until she died in 1872, aged 71 years. According to a writer in the *Revue Britannique* (March, 1873, p. 256), she married seven husbands between 1830, the year of her divorce, and 1848, and her eighth husband, like her first, divorced her. She won her case against Lord Ellenborough in 1855, and became possessed of a considerable fortune, which she bequeathed to the poor of Damascus. An interesting appreciation of her by Isabelle Burton appeared in the *Revue Britannique* for April, 1873, p. 511.

and antiquities, but Shêkh Masalat was not greatly interested in them. He knew all about the excavations which Layard carried out at 'Arâbân, and his friendship with Muḥammad Amîn,[1] the Jabûr shêkh of the district, whose tomb stands on the east bank of the Khâbûr, not far from Tall Ṭâ'bân. And he invited me to stay and go with him to many places in the neighbourhood where there were ruined buildings. At length I told him that I wanted to sleep, but as the men were leaving the tent a woman came to one of them and whispered to him, and he came back and spoke to the shêkh, who at once asked me if I had "medicine" with me. I said I had, but that it was in one of my bullock-trunks, and he sent a man to Muḥammad to bring the trunk to me. When the shêkh saw the medicine case and its rows of bottles he was much interested, and gave orders that everyone who was sick should come to his tent at once. At that time the tabloids of Burroughs and Wellcome were unknown to me, and quantities had to be measured by scales, and I was kept up until a late hour weighing out quinine, salts, etc. There were a few cases of sore eyes, and I was able to give the sufferers a little relief, and as one of these happened to be a favourite wife of Masalat, he was very pleased. What was far better for me was that he promised to send one of his young men with us the next day to show us the nearest road to 'Îrân, or Ghîrân, in the Sînjâr mountains.

The rain stopped early in the night, and as the morning of November 19th broke clear and bright, I decided to leave the encampment of the hospitable shêkh and continue my journey. Masalat and several of his men walked some distance with me and then handed us over to the care of the young man who was to act as our guide that day. I was very sorry to say good-bye to him, for apart from his kindness to me I liked the man himself. He was a tall man, over six feet high, with a good open countenance and a fine presence, and he bore himself with great dignity; he

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[1] See *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 285.

was about fifty years of age. Though he had fed us and our beasts, and the soldiers and their horses, he absolutely refused to let any of his people receive a present from me, and the only thing he would accept himself was a large tin of tobacco, which he promptly divided among his friends. We left Masalat at 7.35 and rode northwards, leaving Ṭâ'bân[1] on our left, and had a good view of Tall Kawkab, or the "Hill of the Fire," in the far distance.[2] We then turned to the right and rode almost due east, and in two hours we came in sight of the great swamp called Al-Ḥawl, or Al-Ḥûl, which extends from the salt lake of Khâtûnîyah to the Khâbûr. In 1891, as in 1851 when Layard saw it, it was the home of lions and many other kinds of wild beasts, and on the edge of it we saw a lion walking along unconcernedly. The beast must have winded us, for he stopped and looked at us for some time, and then he turned his head away and continued his walk calmly. This swamp and the marshy land in the neighbourhood were probably parts of the district where Tiglath Pileser I captured and slew the male elephants and lions which he mentions in his Annals.[3]

About one o'clock the day changed and a bitterly cold wind was blowing, and snow began to fall, and we determined to make no halt but to press on to the place where we were to pass the night. Though we were wet to the skin, and our guide could not see far before him, we moved on at a fair pace, for the ground was chiefly limestone, and there was good foothold for all the animals. About three o'clock, whenever the dizzy dance

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[1] Yâkût calls Ṭâ'bân a "village on the Khâbûr" (iii, p. 485), but the numerous mounds at this place suggest that a town of considerable size once existed here. It probably was destroyed or fell into decay in the tenth or eleventh century.

[2] Layard visited the "Cone of Koukab," and says that it is volcanic, and 300 feet high, and that it rises in the centre of a crater just as do the cones of Vesuvius and Etna in their craters. *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 308.

[3] He slew 10 elephants and captured 4 alive; and he slew 120 lions on foot, and 800 from his chariot. Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscr.* (Tiglath Pileser I, col. vi, l. 70 ff.).

of snowflakes ceased for a little, we saw ahead of us what appeared to me to be a large lake, and as we drew near it we saw that its surface was whipped into little white-crested waves by the angry wind. At 5.20 we arrived at the southern end of this lake, which is called Khâtûnîyah, and to my astonishment our guide rode his camel straight on to a very narrow tongue of land which stretched out into the lake. I could see no houses there, but as we advanced I saw that the tongue of land led on to a little peninsula, and when we rode on to this there were ruins of houses all about us. Our arrival was watched by several men who were standing on the peninsula, and when they came up to us our guide and their shêkh embraced each other, and then the latter came up to me and greeted me warmly and offered me shelter for the night. I did not see where the shelter was to be found, and when the shêkh led our beasts under a ruined wall that seemed to grow up out of the lake, I feared that I was to be put there with them. But the beasts having been tethered and food given to them, he beckoned me to follow him and I did so.

As we went along I noticed every here and there a layer of stones about 10 feet in diameter resting on a thick layer of brushwood and slender tree trunks. At the side of one of these the shêkh stopped and began to go down a slope which led him under the layers of wood and stones. I followed him and found myself in a large circular basin with sloping sides about 10 feet deep and 12 feet in diameter; the floor and sides were lined with slabs of stone. This basin was the shêkh's guest-house, and with many kind words he offered the use of it to me for the night. He shouted and some men came and lighted a fire of brushwood and camel dung, and as soon as my luggage came they stowed it round the sides of the basin, and I took my wet clothes off and boiled water for my tea. As a house the basin left much to be desired, but it was a good shelter from the rain and snow, and when the smoke had cleared off, and Muḥammad had arranged a couple of brush-wood beds, and our candle was lighted, I felt that I

might have been in a much more uncomfortable place. When the shêkh had prepared another similar basin for the Arab whom Masalat had sent to guide us, he came back to us with two or three friends and squatted by the fire and began to talk. He told me that there were twenty houses in the village of Khâtûnîyah, and that in ordinary times about 150 people lived there; it was a "thieves' settlement," and he was Ash-Shêkh al-Ḥarâmîyu or "Shêkh Thief." Every man there was an outlaw, and many of them had suffered fines and imprisonment, and beatings at the hands of Turkish officials. Every fugitive from the Government took refuge at Khâtûnîyah and was protected and hidden from his pursuers. Caravans employed the men from this thieves' village as guides and scouts and paid them in kind, and in this way they managed to maintain their wives and families. Every now and then the Turkish Government ordered the "thieves" of Khâtûnîyah to be destroyed, but when the soldiers arrived to carry out the order they never found anyone there. All the young and strong men escaped to the Sinjâr hills, having first put the women and children in their underground basins, and heaped stones over the entrances to them. Time after time parties of soldiers arrived there and marched along the tongue of land, or small isthmus, to the peninsula in the lake, and seeing no sign of life there retreated quickly, fearing an ambush. I asked the shêkh many questions about the history of the town which once stood on the peninsula, but he had no facts to give me. He had heard that in comparatively recent times the Arabs had lived there, but had fought among themselves and then left the place.[1] But one of the men with the shêkh said that he had heard that the village belonged to the Yazîdîs before the Arabs, and that they had held it for a long time. The Arabs came and settled in the town and about the lake, and then they quarrelled with the Yazîdîs about building a

[1] This is, substantially, what the natives told Layard in 1850; see *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 324.

mosque in the town, and a great fight took place, in which most of the men on both sides were killed. The remainder of the Yazîdîs left the village and went to co-religionists in the Sinjâr hills, and the Arabs departed westwards, but, concluded the speaker, God only knows what is the truth!

The shêkh then addressed himself to Muḥammad and began to talk about the roads to Môṣul. The result of their conversation was that we were not to attempt to follow the track which ran by the north side of the Sinjâr hills, but to cross the hills from north to south at their western end, and then to proceed to Môṣul viâ 'Îrân, or Ghîrân, Balad Sinjâr and Tall 'A'far. He then told us that a high Turkish official from Stambûl was then either in Balad Sinjâr, or in a neighbouring village, and that he passed Khâtûnîyah a few weeks ago with a large body of soldiers. He did not know his name, but he knew that his business was secret, and that wherever he and his soldiers had passed they had left behind then murder, rapine and robbery. Before he left us for the night he promised to send his son with us the next day as far as the pass over the Sinjâr hills.

The day again broke bright and clear, and when the sun rose in splendour we felt that the rain and snow were really things of the past. I went and examined the ruins of the buildings of the old town, and of the strong wall which had at one time enclosed its whole area; originally the wall had only one gateway, and that was on the south side. The waters of the lake were of a beautiful turquoise blue, and on its northern and western shores stood large numbers of cranes and herons, and smaller birds of a kind which I never saw before. The shêkh said that the waters of the lake flowed into the great swamp Al-Ḥûl through a channel on the west bank, and it seemed possible. There were many pelicans and fine Mesopotamian geese fishing diligently, and the whole scene reminded me of the banks of Lake Manzâlah, near Port Sa'îd, before the British drained it. We left the peninsula and walked along the tongue of land to the mainland, and made ready to

start. My difficulty of the previous day repeated itself, and not a man, old or young, would accept a gift from me; when I pressed them each said it would be a "shame" (*'êb*), and the shêkh refused even tobacco. Just as we were going to mount the shêkh came up to me and said, "Knowest thou to write?" I said, "Yes." "Then," said he, "take thy pen and write in thy book this: 'I and my camels nighted (*i.e.*, passed the night) in the house of Sulêmân ibn Khiḍr, Shêkh of the thieves and bandits of Khâtûnîyah, and when I rose up and left him at daybreak of all my possessions I had lost nothing except the service of Sulêmân ibn Khiḍr, the bandit (al-ḥarâmîyu).'" When I had rendered his words to the best of my ability I took out my knife and began to cut the leaf out of the book, stupidly thinking that he wanted to have the paper as a witness to his honesty towards his guests. But he stopped me, saying, "Cut not, cut not; keep the writing and thou shalt remember Sulêmân." Then I realized that all he wanted was that I should not forget the most opportune service which he had rendered me, and that he had treated me as a friend and wished me to remember him as a friend. I was ashamed at the blunder I had made in thinking that he was like the ordinary Levantine dragoman who is always collecting testimonials.

We left Khâtûnîyah at 7 a.m., November 20th, and rode in an easterly direction over very bare country; we crossed two or three large narrow streams along which there were patches of cultivation. About noon we came to a place where the ground began to rise and we halted to tighten up the loads on the beasts before we attempted to cross the Sinjâr hills. Here our guides, the one from Shêkh Masalat and the other from Shêkh Sulêmân, left us, for neither was anxious to come in contact with the Turkish soldiers who were known to be plundering the villages of the Yazîdîs. We rode on till we came to a wâdî, which runs across the Sinjâr range almost due north and south, and then turned towards the south and followed the track on the western

bank. About two o'clock we were overtaken by a violent thunder-storm and were soon wet through. The lightning was magnificent, and the peals of thunder were followed by falls of stone from the projecting edges of the strata on the sides of the hills.

We arrived at 'Îrân, or Ghîrân, also called Skênîyah, at 3.40 p.m., and made arrangements with a Yazîdî to shelter our beasts and baggage in his courtyard whilst we looked about for a lodging for the night. The houses were built of stone, and were covered with good substantial roofs made of layers of small trees and brushwood which were held in position by slabs of stone. The river 'Îrân ran along one side of the town, and we found its water cool and refreshing. There was a great deal of noise and confusion in the town, and the cause of both was a body of Turkish soldiers who had arrived there a few days before, and had been plundering the houses and robbing the people ever since. When the natives found out from Muḥammad that I was an Englishman, they sent two of their number who could talk Arabic to us to tell us about the behaviour of the soldiers, and to ask me to invoke the protection of the British Ambassador to the Porte on their behalf. A few questions elicited their whole story. An infamous official called Ayûb Beg had been sent by the Porte with a considerable number of soldiers to compel the Yazîdîs to embrace Islâm. This Ayûb had gone on to Balad Sinjâr leaving soldiers to carry out his instructions in every town and village where there were Yazîdîs. Twelve soldiers were then in 'Îrân, and they had terrorized the people for some days past. They demanded food from every house, and if it were not forthcoming they entered the house by force and helped themselves; they broke open the corn bins and fed their horses lavishly, and often wasted as much as they used. They waited until the men had gone to look after their flocks down in the plain, and then they went to the houses and raped the little girls, and tore the clothes off the old women to see if they had money tied up in the corners, and then drove them out naked into

the streets. Several of the Yazîdîs who refused to accept Islâm had been tortured in the town, and several others had been shot as they came home in the evening from the plain. I went about in the town with Muḥammad and our two soldiers, and I saw enough in the houses to convince me that the iniquities of the Turks, in 'Îrân at least, had not been overstated.

In the evening Muḥammad told me that we should have trouble with the soldiers of Ayûb Beg, and he insisted on my keeping my large service revolver conveniently near me. He proposed that we should send on ahead of us our two soldiers and all our animals, except two camels, with our tent and bedding and other baggage, so that we might be able to leave the town quickly if it were necessary to do so, but to keep back the box containing our supply of food to lull the suspicions of the Turks, if they had any. He watched his opportunity, and having started them on their way about ten o'clock in the evening, he hired a courtyard with one-half of it roofed over, and a couple of *liḥâfs*,[1] and having eaten our supper we lay down to sleep on the quilts by the side of our camels. Presently several soldiers came into the courtyard, evidently with the view of talking to Muḥammad, and I soon saw that their talk was not friendly. As Muḥammad told me to "sleep, sleep," I pretended to do so, and a soldier came and sat down close to me. After a short time I felt his hand moving about under the *liḥâf* trying to find my revolver, and as soon as he touched the lanyard which was round my body, I grasped the revolver quickly and discharged it from one side of the *liḥâf* into the ceiling. The bullet (size ·420) hit a plank and knocked it aside and let down a lot of dry earth and stones, which made a great noise. The soldier close to me jumped up in a fright and shouted out that he was killed, and several people from the street came rushing in to see what had

[1] The liḥâf is practically a couple of blankets with padding sewn in between; it is generally covered with some sort of gaudy cotton stuff, and looks like a very thickly padded quilt.

happened. Without waiting to hear the cause of the shot they threw themselves on the soldiers and a sort of free fight took place between them and the soldiers. When the row was at its height, Muḥammad and I got into our *makhlûfas*;[1] the camels rose at once and we were soon outside the courtyard. As we were coming out I saw that the soldiers had opened my box of food and were making free with its contents, and though, considering that we were three or four days from Môṣul, it was a serious matter for us, we decided to abandon it and to make our escape from the town as soon as possible. Muḥammad having decided upon this course of action as soon as he entered the town, had noted the way we had to take, and having turned his camel's head in that direction we followed the path by the river down to the plain, and in an hour we felt that we were beyond pursuit. At 2 a.m. we overtook our soldiers and the animals, and we camped where we found them until daylight.

We left our camp at 9 a.m., November 21st, and made slow progress that day, for neither ourselves nor the beasts had slept much because of the cold. Two hours later we passed the village of Jaddâlah, and some of the men came and told us sad tales of Ayûb Beg and his soldiers, and their atrocious behaviour. An hour's easy riding brought us to the village of Wardî, where we halted for a short time and drank of the beautiful water which an abundant spring supplied. As we rested there we heard further tales of Ayûb Beg, and though the Arabs had no love for the Yazîdîs as such, yet they called down the curse of Allah upon him for his savagery (*wukhûshîyah*) and lack of humanity We could now see the town of Sinjâr quite distinctly, and we pressed on as fast as possible, for we all were very hungry and hoped to obtain a new supply of food there. About one hour from Sinjâr we passed a wretched Yazîdî village, and the women came out to us and we heard more tales of Ayûb Beg. According to them, he and

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[1] A special saddle used in riding camels; Arab. مَخْلُوفَة.

some of his officers went there and demanded women, and when they were refused they seized two young girls of fourteen years of age and tried to carry them of, but the Yazîdîs have Kurdish blood in them, and they fought to such good purpose that one tore out one of the eyes of the officer who was assaulting her, and the other bit through the hand and wrist of her assailant. But the girls were overpowered and the officers stripped them and then tied them to the door-posts of a house; they cut off their breasts and ripped open their bodies and put quicklime on their wounds. It was terrible to see the mad rage and agony of the women as they told their story, but I wrote it down and said I would send the news on to the British Ambassador to the Porte. Two days after the mutilation and murder of the girls the soldiers came back to the village from Sinjâr and shot several of the men of the village as they were returning from the plain to their homes. I could not attempt to console the women for I knew no Kurdish dialect, but I gave them a little money and told Muḥammad to advise them to go to Môṣul and to make their way from there back to their villages in the Kurdish hills. Several of them took my advice and arrived in Môṣul when I was there, and I was able to be of use to them again. The last I heard of them was their arrival at Al-Ḳôsh. We arrived at Sinjâr at 2.15 p.m.

The appearance of the town of Sinjâr, the Balad Sinjâr of the Arabs and the Shingâr[1] of the Kurds, was most picturesque; the district about it contained many gardens, and there was much cultivation along the sides of the stream that flows down from the hills, and eventually flows into the river Tharthâr. In ancient days the town occupied the slopes of the hills on both sides of this stream, but when I saw it the buildings on the west bank were practically ruins. All the government offices are on the eastern slopes near the ridge of the hill, and the houses rise up in a series of

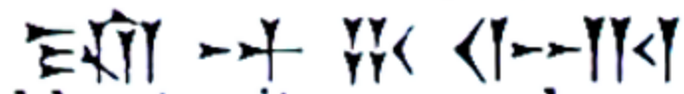
[1] The Syriac form of the name is "Shengar," or "Shingar."

steps. All the houses are substantial constructions and are built of stone, which is sometimes plastered; they are rectangular in shape, have flat roofs, no windows, and only one door, that being in the front of the house. Most of the inhabitants of the town were Yazîdîs. Sinjâr is a very old town, and it must always have been an important halting-place for caravans. The Egyptians claimed to have conquered it in the sixteenth century B.C., and they certainly imported horses and perfumed unguents from it.[1] A letter from the King of Alashiya to the King of Egypt, written in the fifteenth century B.C., mentions the King of Khatte and the King of Sha-an-kha-ar,[2] and some have identified the latter place with Sinjâr. The Romans appear to have occupied that part of the plain nearest the modern town and to have maintained a strong garrison there, but no remains of their forts are to be seen. Sinjâr was captured by the Persians under Sapor, A.D. 360, and it fell into the hands of the Arabs[3] when they began to occupy Northern Mesopotamia. The town has declined steadily under the rule of the Turks, and a good deal of the trade which it enjoyed in common with Al-Hadhr (Hatra) and Takrît has come to an end.

Before we arrived in the town of Sinjâr a messenger

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[1] Birch, *Select Papyri*, plates 96, 98. The Egyptians called the town "Sangar"  .

[2]  Tall al-'Amârnah Tablet No. 5. (See Bezold, *op. cit.*, p. 13, l. 49.)

[3] See Bilâdhurî, p. 177. The Arab geographers have much to say about the town, *e.g.*, Iṣṭakhrî, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Muḳaddasî (see de Goeje's Index), Ya'aḳûbî, i, p. 228. Yâḳût (i, p. 158) says that the Ark of Noah rested on the hill above the town for a short time, and then passed on to Jabal Jûdî, but adds that he does not believe this tradition. Ibn Baṭûṭah (ii, pp. 141, 142) admired the town greatly, and speaks of its trees and fruits and springs, and says that in its gardens and canals it resembles Damascus. The mosque there in his day was very famous, and a stream of water encircled it. He says that the inhabitants were Kurds, and that they were a generous folk. He met there the famous ascetic 'Abd Allah al-Kurdî, who fasted for forty days at a time. For the life of Mâr Mu'ain of Sinjâr see Hoffmann, *Ausziige*, p. 28 ff.

met us from the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm, who invited me to become his guest whilst I stayed there; I accepted his hospitality and we rode straight up to his house. He received me very kindly and gave orders about feeding the beasts, and did everything he could to help me and make me comfortable. He enquired my name and my business, and said that it was a fortunate day for him that had brought me to his house. Over our cigarettes and coffee he told me about the conditions which prevailed in the town, and his narrative did not add to my comfort. He said that Ayûb Beg was in the town with a company of soldiers, and that he had joined himself to the military officials, and was doing all he could to provoke a rising in the town with the view of getting him (*i.e.*, the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm) dismissed in disgrace. Ayûb's mission was to force the Yazîdîs to embrace Islâm, and that while he treated poor Yazîdîs with terrible cruelty when they rejected Islâm, he allowed those who were well-to-do to remain in peace provided they bribed him adequately. News had already reached Ayûb that an Englishman was travelling in the Sinjâr, and he had heard how the women had stopped me and told me about the murder of the two girls in the village close by. The Ḳâ'im Maḳâm warned me that Ayûb would make an attempt to prevent me from reaching Môsul, because he knew that if the Wâlî of Môṣul heard of his proceedings he would send troops from the garrison of Môṣul to arrest him. I told the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm what I had seen at 'Îrân, and what I had heard from the villagers on my way to Sinjâr, and he said that nothing had been overstated, and that he thought the facts ought to be made known to the European Ambassadors to the Porte and to the Wâlî at Môṣul. He asked me to take a letter from him to the Wâlî of Môṣul and I agreed to do so, and then he told me that if I would write a letter to the British Ambassador to the Porte he would manage to find means to deliver it to him. I then wrote to Sir William White a plain statement of what I had seen and heard, adding the names of the murdered persons and their villages, and I ended my

letter by suggesting that the British Press should be informed of Ayûb's proceedings in the Sinjâr, and I expressed the hope that he would show my letter to the correspondent of *The Times* in Constantinople. The Ḳâ'im Maḳâm managed to send the letter to Sir William White and a month later I received from him in Baghdâd a telegram through the British Consul saying, "England is a Power friendly to Turkey; Turkey is a Power friendly to England. The policy of Turkey in respect of the Yazîdîs must not be attacked by the servant of a Power friendly to Turkey. I do not see my way to interfere in the matter, and if you write to the Press you will embarrass me. Keep me well informed by telegraph, but otherwise be silent. I have sent you the permit for excavations at Dêr, but fear trouble and disappointment for you."

In the course of the evening the two soldiers who had escorted us from Dêr az-Zûr came and told me that the officer to whom they had reported their arrival had ordered them not to escort me to Môṣul. I said, "Very well, let him supply me with two others." They then told me that the officer would not allow any of his men to go to Môṣul because the Shammar and the other tribes were fighting, and that the "Tcherkass," or Circassians, had attacked Tall 'A'far during the past week and killed many of the people there. The roads to Môṣul were not safe, they added, and their officer would himself come to me the following day and prohibit my departure. I gave them each a gift and they departed. Just after they had gone Muḥammad came and told me that Ayûb had sent a man to him who wanted to buy our camels, and who told him that if he would not sell them they would be taken from us by force. When I told the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm these things he agreed with us that the sooner we left Sinjâr the better. I said that I wanted to buy food before we left, but he objected to any delay, and we arranged to leave the town before daybreak. It was quite clear that Êyûb and the officer were working together to get us stranded at Sinjâr, but they failed. The Ḳâ'im Maḳâm

gave orders that our beasts were to be fed, and he told the women of his house to make some bread-cakes for me for the journey, but I found these attentions very costly, for I not only had to buy the fodder and the *burghul* (*i.e.*, crushed barley) at high prices, but to make a present to every servant in the house.

Soon after midnight, November 22nd, Muḥammad got the beasts down into the plain without attracting any very unfavourable notice on the part of the town-guard, and at 2 a.m. we watered them at one of the streams in the plain, and at 3 a.m. we set out on our journey. We had neither escort nor guide, but Muḥammad had passed that way before and seemed quite at his ease. We crossed various wâdîs, some of which were dry, and at daybreak saw the Yazîdî village of Mihrkân on the slope of the hills to the north. The sight of the village stirred some memory in Muḥammad, who suddenly broke out in violent curses on the Yazîdîs, and his stories of their villainies and iniquities pleasantly beguiled the tediousness of the journey until we reached Al-Khân at 7 a.m. Al-Khân turned out to be nothing but the ruins of a large khân of the usual kind, but the walls offered good shelter and we rested there for breakfast. The meal was not a success, for the bread-cakes we brought from Sinjâr were more than half unbaked, and none of us could eat them; but the camels, after much sniffing, ate them, so they were not wasted. I looked at the sculptures and at the Arabic inscription over the door of the khân which Sachau copied (*Reise*, p. 334), and wondered at first why such a large building was set up in that bare spot. But the reason was not far to seek, for the fine springs called Al-Ḥarârât are close by, and caravans have halted there for the night from time immemorial.

We left Al-Khân at 7.30 and arrived at the sulphur springs of 'Ain al-Ḥisân at nine. Continuing our journey we passed several mounds, Tall Sharâyâ, Tall ar-Rûs, Tall 'Abrah, etc., crossed the Wâdî 'Abrah, which contained much water, and reached the large mound of Tall Wardân at 2 p.m., and from this point we saw

Ḳal'at Marwân,[1] which stands on the hill above Tall 'A'far.[2] An hour later we crossed the stream, on both sides of which the town is built, and came to Tall 'A'far. Around the town are many large and beautiful gardens filled with fruit-trees, and in normal times abundant provision for man and beast can be bought there. Muḥammad found a lodging for me in a house with a large courtyard, and then we went to the bazâr to try and buy food. But there was very little to be had, for the "Circassians" had raided the town the week before, and not a chicken or an egg remained. Later in the day we bought a sheep at a very extravagant price, and some crushed barley, and our host and his wife and ourselves ate together; we were thankful, for that was our first meal that day. After supper several natives came in and told us about the raid of the "Circassians," and complained bitterly that the Mudîr had done little or nothing to beat off the attackers who, according to them, came to the town and took what they pleased. Muḥammad extracted much information from them about the route which we proposed to take the following day, and we agreed to follow their advice and leave the town during the early hours of the morning. We failed to obtain a supply of food for ourselves, with the exception of a little crushed barley, and only very meagre rations for our beasts. It was therefore necessary to reach Môṣul some time the following evening, and as that town was nearly forty miles distant, we turned our visitors out as soon as we could, and then went to the outskirts of the town and rested for a few hours.

We left Tall 'A'far at 3 a.m. in a thick white fog, and found the going very difficult. We lost the track and rode straight into a Shammar camp, but they evidently decided that we were not worth robbing, and we lost nothing but time through our mistake. At daybreak

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[1] This is the castle mentioned by Yâḳût (i, p. 863).

[2] See Iṣṭakhrî, p. 73. Muḳaddasî (p. 53) spells the name "Talla'far," and Ibn al-Athîr (xii, p. 224) "Tall Ya'far." Abû'l-Fidâ (p. 284) speaks of the many trees in the town.

we passed the village of Abû Mârjah, and when the fog lifted we found ourselves in a region with an appearance different from any which we had hitherto passed. At 8.30 we reached 'Ain al-Bêḍâ, where there were several springs, and the mounds in the neighbourhood suggested that that district had at one time been well populated. An hour later we came to Wâdî Dabûnah, where there was much water, and lying about in all directions were large blocks of stone; it seemed as if they must have been brought there from some quarry for building purposes. About eleven o'clock one of the camels stumbled and fell, and whilst he was resting we lighted a fire and boiled some of our crushed barley into soup which we flavoured with salt. When we moved on again at noon the camel limped and the other beasts showed many signs of fatigue and exhaustion, and our progress was slow. In the early afternoon rain fell, and though it wetted us to the skin it put new life into us, and we moved on a little faster. At 4.30 we sighted the minaret of the great mosque of Môṣul, and saw the smoke of the limekilns rising in thick clouds behind the other buildings. Soon after this the ground became a stiff clay which the rain had made very slippery, and the legs of our weary beasts began to slither about in all directions, and we found walking very difficult.

When the night fell we were several miles from Môṣul, but we had to go on, for water was an urgent necessity. How Muḥammad managed to find his way I never made out, and at the fourth hour of the night (ten o'clock) we found ourselves outside the western gate of the town trying to gain admittance. We beat on the doors with stones and made a great noise, but the guards were fast asleep, and for a long time we heard no sound. Some men who also wanted to get into the town sprang up out of the darkness and began to hammer on the doors, and at length we heard a movement and a voice from the other side of them heaped curses and insults upon us and bade us begone. Finally someone in authority appeared, and after many questions allowed one of my two muleteers to enter in

order to find Nimrûd Rassam, who was required to testify to my respectability, and to guarantee that I had no sinister designs on the garrison. After a wait which appeared endless Nimrûd arrived, and having identified me and taken Muḥammad under his charge, the great doors were thrown open and we were allowed to go to Nimrûd's house. I got the beasts unloaded at once and sent them and the men with them to the khân, and arranged for their being well fed for a week; for several days past neither we nor they had had much to eat, and we had marched many hours each day, and were very tired. It had taken us twenty-three days to travel from Damascus to Môṣul, viâ Tudmur, Dêr az-Zûr, 'Îrân, Sinjâr and Tall 'A'far, but then it must be remembered that we could not change our beasts anywhere on the road. The distance from Damascus to Dêr az-Zûr is about 250 miles, and from Dêr az-Zûr to Môṣul about 240 miles, in all 490 miles; but on several occasions we had to make long détours in order to avoid a body of the Shammar Arabs, and we must have covered from first to last quite 550 miles. Our shortest day's march was about twenty miles, and our longest about forty-five miles, and our average day's march was about twenty-four miles; our most successful marches were those made at night. After a week's rest the muleteers and their beasts were hired by a merchant who was going to Dîâr Bakr, and those kindly men received their hire and a gift apiece, and left me with many grateful words. Muḥammad and his camels were my guests for a week longer, and then one day he got up suddenly and said he wanted to go back to Damascus that night. I was very sorry to part with him, but he insisted on going, and late that evening he and his nephew rode quietly out of the Sinjâr Gate and were soon swallowed up in the darkness. He took with him my sincere gratitude and my gifts, viz., a good compass, a large clasp-knife and my small revolver, and I saw him no more. His kindness to me and forethought for me were great. I felt then, and still feel, that but for him I should never have crossed that great and terrible Syrian desert in safety.

Appendix.

Note on the Yazîdîs.

The Yazîdîs, popularly but erroneously called "devil-worshippers," claim to be descended from the immediate followers of Shêkh 'Adî, who came from the country round about Aleppo and settled at Lêlash,[1] to the north-east of Môṣul ; he died in the third quarter of the twelfth century, and his tomb may be seen at Bêth 'Adhrâi[2] or Bâ 'Idhrî. The Kitâb al-Jilwah, the sacred book of the Yazîdîs, is said to have been written by him. The name "Yazîdî" is, according to some, connected with the name of the Khalîfah Yazîd ibn Mu'awîyah, who died A.D. 683, and according to others with "Yazdân," the Persian name of God ; those who hold the latter opinion regard the Yazîdîs as "worshippers of God." The book Jilwah says there are seven gods, each of whom rules the universe for 10,000 years. One of these gods is Malak Ta'us[3], and he is identified with Lucifer, the prince of those in heaven who rebelled against God. Images are made of him in the form of a copper bird,[4] very much like a cock,[5] and the Yazîdîs praise and

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[1] See Yâḳût, iv, p. 374, who does not give the vowels.
[2] See Yâḳût, ii, p. 690 ; Ibn al-Athîr, ii, p. 251.
[3] *I.e.*, "Messenger Peacock."
[4] Such an image is commonly called "Sanjak" ; and there are seven of these images in all.
[5] "The figure is that of a bird, more resembling a cock than any other fowl, with a swelling breast, diminutive head, and wide-spreading tail. The body is full, but the tail flat and fluted, and under the throat is a small protuberance, intended perhaps to represent a wattle. This is fixed on the top of a candlestick, round which are two lamps, placed one above the other, and each containing seven burners, the upper being larger than the under. The whole is of brass, and so constructed that it may be taken to pieces and put together with the greatest ease." See the drawing which Badger appends to this description (*Nestorians*, i, p. 125).

worship these and sing to them, and they are carried from village to village and the people receive them as abodes of God, and make offerings to them. It is said that these bird-figures possess the power of motion and that they dance with the people on their way from one village to another. Twice a year the Yazîdîs make a pilgrimage to Shêkh 'Adî, for they firmly believe that 'Adî was an incarnation of God, who really appeared on earth for a short time in order to teach the elect resignation to God's Will, and to write the book Jilwah for their guidance. But the worship of Malak Ta'us is more ancient than that of Shêkh 'Adî, and probably dates from a period coeval with that of the ancient Babylonians. The Sanjak is the true symbol of Malak Ta'us, who is the Principle, or Power, of Evil personified. There is no doubt that the Yazîdîs worship this Principle of Evil more from fear than love, and they spare no trouble in attempting to propitiate him. They are so much afraid of offending him that they will not use the Arabic word for Satan, "Shaiṭân," or any word which is like any part of that word in sound. On the other hand, though they worship Shêkh 'Adî they make no attempt to propitiate him because, they say, he is so good that there is no need to do it. I had many conversations in Môṣul with Jeremiah Shamîr about the Yazîdîs in 1890 and 1891, and it seemed to me that their religion was then a mixture of paganism (with its worship of springs and fountains) Zoroastrianism, Sabaism, Manicheeism, Christianity and Islâm. The Sanjak is, no doubt, the descendant of the bird used in divining, as Layard, Badger and Parry have pointed out, and is identical with the "Anghar-bird" on the back of which God placed the White Pearl which He made out of His own Essence, and dwelt in it for 40,000 years. And the priests used the Sanjak for divining purposes as a matter of course. According to Shamîr the Yazîdîs in remote villages had many horrible practices and customs; he said they worked black magic, and used incantations, and made philtres composed of decoctions of dead bodies, and all unmentionable things. And

he was firmly convinced that when they wanted to appeal irresistibly to Malak Ta'us, they resorted to murder and ceremonial cannibalism, and nameless abominable practices of all kinds. Much has been said about the persecution of the Yazîdîs by the Turkish Government, because they will not perform military service, but there may be faults on both sides. That they have been shamefully treated by the Turks cannot be denied, but whenever fate has given them the opportunity they have murdered Turks, Arabs and Christians alike without mercy. The Yazîdîs of Sinjâr were the terror of caravans early in the nineteenth century, and they acquired great wealth by plundering merchants and travellers. In 1828 the Wâlî Pâshâ of Môṣul murdered and robbed the Yazîdîs of Shêkhân, and treated them with terrible cruelty. In 1832 the Beg of Rawandiz, who was a religious fanatic and coveted their wealth, fell upon the Yazîdîs on all the plains about Môṣul and burnt their villages, and slew many thousands of them. Of this terrible massacre many stories were current when I was in Môṣul. In 1838 Muḥammad Pâshâ of Môṣul crushed the Yazîdîs of Sinjâr, and in 1844 the notorious Badr Khân Beg treated the Yazîdîs of Jabal Ṭûr as he treated the Nestorians of Al-Ḳôsh.[1] In 1890–91, as we have seen, Ayûb Beg was in the Sinjâr "converting" the Yazîdîs to Islâm by the methods which I have described. A year later many hundreds of them were tortured and massacred, and for some time after this the Yazîdîs killed every Muslim that fell into their hands. Excellent accounts of the Yazîdîs will be found

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[1] Mr. Parry says that it was in 1844 that "the mounds of Nineveh opposite Mosul gained the name of 'Kuyunjik' (the Slaughter of the Sheep), from the horrible massacre which he (*i.e.*, the Kurdish Beg) there inflicted on them." (*Six Months*, p. 358.) Other writers make the same statement (*e.g.*, Wigram, *Cradle*, p. 102). The butchered Yazîdîs may have been regarded as the "many sheep" which are supposed to be referred to in the name "Kuyunjik," but as a matter of fact, the village of Ḳuyûnjiḳ was in existence in the time of Niebuhr, who says that the village of "Koindsjug" lies on a hill near the "Castle of Nineveh" (*Reisebeschreibung*, ii, p. 353).

in Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i, pp. 270–305; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 3, 47, 81, 89 ff., 250 ff.; and Badger, *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i, p. 113 ff. These are specially valuable, for they were written by travellers who were able to get their information at first hand. Good general descriptions of the Yazîdîs are given by Menant, *Les Yezidis*, Paris 1892, and Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, p. 357 ff. In the last-named book is printed the translation by E. G. Browne of a history of the Yazîdîs written in Arabic.

Môṣul and The Monastery of Rabban Hôrmîzd: Môṣul to Baghdâd.

When I awoke on the Monday morning, November 24th, it was snowing, sleeting and raining with steady persistency, and as all the streets of Môṣul were ankle deep in mud and slush I was only too thankful for an excuse to stay indoors for a day or two. As I knew that my stay in the town would probably not exceed three weeks, I made arrangements with Nimrûd Rassam, at his earnest request, to board and lodge with him. I had heard in London that he had married during the past summer, and thought that he and his wife would rather have their house to themselves during the first year of their married life, but he insisted that I should stay with him, and I did so. The day after my arrival he brought his wife into the large verandah and introduced me to her. She was a little lady, and was arrayed in most splendid and bright-coloured silks. Her head was decorated with numerous chains of gold to which disks of gold were attached; there was a great gold necklace with a pectoral about her neck, and she wore gold bracelets and anklets. She was then eleven or twelve years of age. She came up to me shyly with Nimrûd, and with much self-possession spoke some pretty words of welcome in a high voice, and said she liked the English. The little lady wore no veil, and she perched herself on the top of a small inlaid table (*kursî*), and took coffee with us, but evidently preferred the *bûs îdak* sweetmeat which her husband had taken care to provide for her. She soon became tired of her duty as hostess, and she was bored by our talk and showed it plainly. As soon as she saw her attendant coming towards the verandah she slid off the *kursî* and trotted off to her as fast as her splendid raiment would permit, and that was the last I saw of my little hostess. I heard

subsequently that Nimrûd, who was a very strict "dry" Nestorian (see p. 63), had begun to teach her the history of the Syrian Church, and that he made her fast twice a week regularly, and oftener in Lent.

Having settled the difficult question of board and lodging, I reported my arrival by telegraph to Sir William White, and asked for news of the permit for Dêr. He replied promptly, saying that unexpected difficulties had arisen, and that it had been found impossible to extract the document from the Porte, but that he would do his utmost to send it off by the end of the month. I then asked him if I should go on with the excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ, which Nimrûd had been keeping alive during the summer, and he replied that as the permit for Ḳuyûnjiḳ expired on December 10th I had better not attempt to dig there after that date. I took the earliest opportunity of going to the Sarâyah to see the Wâlî Pâshâ, and I found to my great regret that the Wâlî I had known the year before had been recalled on account of his failure to suppress the Shammar, and that a new and quite unknown man had become Wâlî in his place. In due course I was admitted to his presence, and I gave him the letter which I had brought from the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm at Sinjâr, who had shown himself so friendly towards me. The Wâlî questioned me as to what I had seen and heard of Ayûb Beg and his soldiers, and when he had heard what I had to say, he merely said that if the Yazîdîs were murdered and ill-treated by the soldiers it was their own fault. He continued: the Jew and the Christian escaped the military service to which they were liable as Turkish subjects by paying adequate fines, but the Yazîdîs of the Sinjâr, though very rich and prosperous, always objected to pay their fines, and gave the Porte a good deal of trouble. In his opinion the Yazîdîs of Sinjâr, being of Kurdish origin, were men of powerful physique, and should be made to serve in the army; if they would not they ought to be shot. He was obliged to me for bringing the letter to him from his friend the Ḳâ'im Maḳâm, and would at once despatch a company of

soldiers to Sinjâr to prevent Ayûb from carrying off for himself the large sums of money which he was squeezing out of the Yazîdîs there.

Referring then to the excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ, he said that much treasure had been found in the mounds during the past year and a half, and that he had reason to believe that the men employed by Nimrûd Rassam had made away with it. This sort of thing must be stopped, he said, and he was going to send soldiers to watch the mound day and night, and expected me to pay them for their services. He was well aware of the fact that our permit for Ḳuyûnjiḳ expired on December 10th, but he was willing to come to an arrangement with me whereby I could go on digging after that date, provided I agreed to keep silence as regards his share in the matter. I thanked him for his offer and told him that we had decided to stop work in the mound on December 9th, and I declined to pay for the services of the soldiers whom he proposed to send to watch the digging. This did not please him at all, and from that day until I left Môṣul our work at Ḳuyûnjiḳ was hampered and obstructed in every way which the ingenuity of the Turkish official could devise. As I had got into my possession everything which had been found since I left Môṣul the year before, and saw no chance of finding much else that winter, I closed the excavations. I decided to take all the digging tools and baskets down the river with me for use at Dêr, and I had them packed up ready in boxes.

In spite of the rain and mud many of the Muṣûlîs, both of the clergy and laity, paid me visits during the week after my return to Môṣul, and they seemed to be glad to see me again and were at all events very cordial in their greetings. Several of my visitors came to report that they had acquired manuscripts during my absence in England, and we arranged times when I could see them and discuss prices with them. Among such visitors were some Muslim women who brought me many manuscripts, chiefly Ḳur'âns, which had been the property of their husbands and which they

were not allowed to use. Two beautifully written and ornamented Ḳur'âns, one of the sixteenth and one of the seventeenth century, had actually been buried in the graves of the husbands of their present owners; these I purchased for myself, for the Museum possessed several fine Ḳur'âns of all periods, but each woman swore me to absolute secrecy in the matter. Many merchants and others came to thank me for doing various things for them which I had promised to do, and oddly enough they appeared to be grateful. And they helped me much in return, for they introduced me to owners of Persian and Arabic manuscripts which otherwise I should never have heard of.

Before the close of November I was honoured by receiving a visit from His Holiness Mâran Mâr Ignatius, Peter III, Patriarch of Antioch, and of all the Jacobite Churches of Syria and in the East. He sent a message by one of his clergy saying that he was coming, but remembering the mud in the streets of Môṣul and the age of His Holiness, which was then ninety years, I begged the priest to ask His Holiness not to give himself the trouble, and to say that I would wait upon him, which was far more seemly. Whilst I was actually getting ready to go the Patriarch arrived. He dismounted, with some help, from his donkey, and when he straightened himself in the doorway, and walked into the court leaning slightly on one of his clergy, I saw that he was tall, in fact, he must have been over six feet in height. He wore a large, rounded, very full turban, covered with some kind of dark stuff, a sort of dark-coloured cassock which reached to his feet, and a thick black cloak. His features were small, clean-cut and refined, and his long beard was snowy white;[1] he moved with dignity, and his whole bearing seemed to say, "I am a Prince of the Church." As soon as he was seated, or rather reclining, on the dîwân, he began to talk, and wishing not to lose a word I asked Nimrûd Rassam to act as interpreter. This the Patriarch refused to allow, saying

[1] For a good photograph of him see Parry, *Six Months*, p. 62.

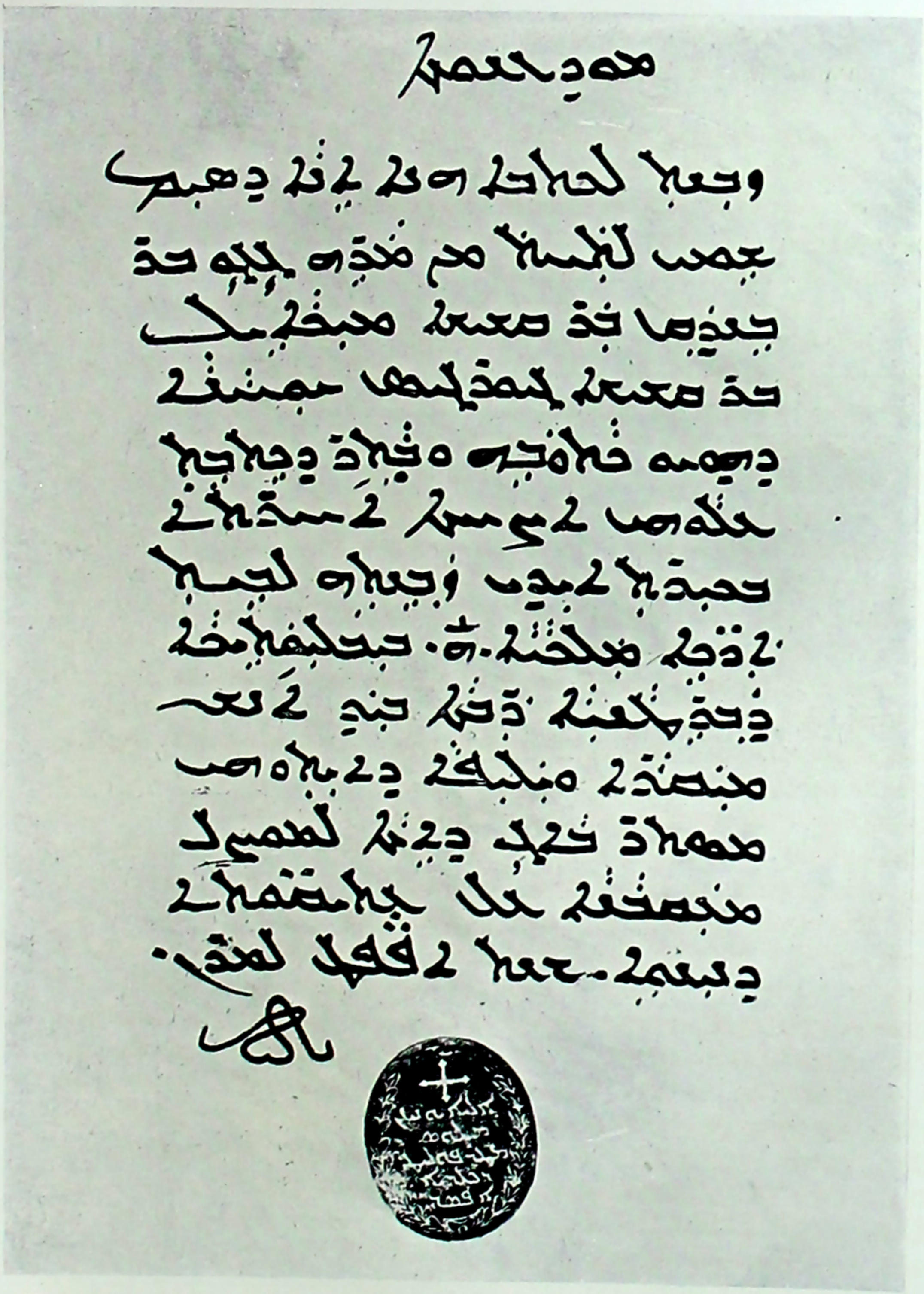
that Nimrûd was a Nestorian, and that his own clergy were as well acquainted with French as he was; then calling one of his own people forward he told him to interpret for me. The Patriarch's action and words were autocratic, but it was evident that he was well accustomed to be obeyed, and no one present seemed to be in the least surprised. Having thus arranged matters according to his pleasure, he smiled sweetly and continued his talk. When he had asked after my health, and congratulated me on my arrival for the second time in Môṣul, and cursed the Yazîdîs and the Shammar, he began to talk about England, which he visited in 1874. He spoke of Queen Victoria and of the gracious kindness which she had shown him on two occasions, and of Archbishop Tait and of several of the Ministers whom he had met at the reception at the India Office which was arranged in his honour, and then went on to talk about the reason of his visit, namely, the illegal appointment of Philip Malpan as Metropolitan of Malabar by the British Resident in 1825. I was in a general way acquainted with the principal events which followed this appointment, and I knew well how the Patriarch had been abused, misrepresented and maligned. It is a plain historical fact that the Christians of Malabar have since 1665 always regarded the Patriarch of Antioch as the head of their Church, and it is not easy to understand how the British Resident at Malabar could have overlooked this fact. I told the Patriarch that this was my opinion, and that I was very glad he had succeeded in maintaining his authority against the attacks that had been made upon it, and he was pleased. He then said that he had many points he wanted to talk over with me, and invited me to come to his house as soon as possible, and having fixed upon the day and hour for my visit he departed.

I went to see him at the appointed time and he received me very kindly. He began to talk at once about the matters which he wished to discuss with me. He said that I was employing Nestorians as scribes, and purchasing manuscripts of Nestorian works, and

asked if I would not also employ Jacobite scribes to copy Jacobite works. I explained to him that such copies as were made I paid for out of my own pocket, and that the British Museum did not buy modern copies of manuscripts for their Collections. But, I added, I want to possess for working purposes copies of all the chief works of Bar Hebraeus, and if he would kindly appoint scribes and lend them manuscripts to copy from I would gladly pay them at the current rate and provide the paper. This was all arranged in a few minutes, and then he asked many questions about the collections of Syriac manuscripts in the British Museum, and especially about the manuscripts of the famous Nitrian Collection. Why do you not publish some of these? Why do you always publish books copied by Nestorians? he asked. When I told him that I had been engaged for years in editing a large work[1] of Philoxenus of Mabbôgh, he was much pleased, and said he would give me his blessing before I left him. Then sending some of those who were present from the room he began to talk about the great section of the Syrian Church of which he was the head, and lamented that it was in a state of decay, and that its influence was being undermined by the American and British Missionaries, to say nothing of the Nestorians. He wanted help from the Church of England and money to repair the churches and provide suitable equipment for them, to print books, etc. What should he do? I suggested that he should send a small mission to the Archbishop of Canterbury and state with precision what he wanted to do, how much money he needed, and what he proposed to do with it if he obtained it. And I told him that I felt sure there were many generous men in England who would sympathize with him in his endeavour to maintain the old Syrian Church in an efficient state and would help him. I reminded him of his reception in

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[1] "Homilies on Christian Life and Character." I edited it with an English translation, and it was published by the Royal Society of Literature in two volumes in 1894.



The attestation of Mâr Mîlôs, Metropolitan of the Chaldeans, concerning the sale to the British Museum of a copy of the "Cream of Wisdom" by Gregory Bar Hebraeus.

Brit. Mus., MS. Oriental, No. 4079, fol. 314B.

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London in 1874 and the interest which Queen Victoria and her Ministers and Archbishop Tait took in his mission, but he shook his head sadly and said, "It is true, they were kind, but they gave me no money, and I want money." In answer I said, "Find a man like yourself and send him," and to my amazement he looked up sharply and said, "I have found him. I send you!" I offered to carry a letter from him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, but though he promised to write one he did not do so. As I left he stood up and gave me his blessing, and I saw him no more.[1]

Another notable and welcome visitor whom I saw frequently was Mâr Êlîyâ Yûḥannan Mîlôs, "Metropolitan of the Chaldeans" and "Vicar of the Chaldean Patriarch," whom I have already mentioned.[2] Through him I obtained access to many fine manuscripts, and he helped me to acquire copies of (1) The Recension of the Syriac Version of the "Paradise of the Fathers" of Palladius, made by 'Anân 'Îshô' of Bêth 'Abhê in the seventh century; (2) The "Sayings of the Fathers," arranged and classified by 'Anân 'shô';[3] (3) a "Book of Medicine" according to the great Greek physicians, which was in use in the hospitals of Edessa and Nisibis in the early centuries of the Christian Era;[4] (4) a Book of Medicine compiled from the works of native authors, and from ancient Babylonian and Assyrian sources;[5]

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[1] He died at Mârdîn on October 6th, 1894, aged ninety-five years. Mr. Parry's appreciation of this splendid old ecclesiastic is both just and good; see *Six Months*, p. xvi.

[2] See p. 72. His troubles and difficulties at Malabar are described by Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 162 ff.

[3] Nos. 1 and 2 I published with English translations in my *Book of Paradise of Palladius*, 2 vols., 1894. A revised edition of the English translation entitled *The Paradise of the Fathers* was published in 1907 in two volumes.

[4] The section which dealt with the sexual organs is wanting. I believe this to have been the great medical treatise composed by Bar Hebraeus which is mentioned by Assemânî (*B.O.*, ii, p. 272, No. 26).

[5] Nos. 3 and 4 I published with English translations in my *Syrian Anatomy, Pathology and Therapeutics*, 2 vols., London, 1913.

(5) The Book of Governors, by Thomas, Bishop of Margâ, A.D. 840;[1] (6) The Laughable Stories of Bar Hebraeus;[2] (7) The Life of Rabban Hôrmîzd, in prose[3] and in verse;[4] (8) Two important apocryphal works;[5] and many other works which were at that time unknown in European Libraries. Mâr Mîlôs was a very learned man and a most competent scribe, and chief among the fine copies of manuscripts which he had made for his own use was the great encyclopædia comprising the whole of Aristotelian discipline entitled "Khêwath Khechmĕthâ," or the "Cream of Wisdom." Manuscripts of this work were very scarce, and there was no complete codex of it in England, and I begged him to sell me his copy for the British Museum. He resisted all my entreaties for a long time, but one morning he brought the large folio manuscript to me and said that I should have it for the British Museum in return for saving his life.[6] On folio 314*b* he wrote the following in Syriac: "Notice! I, whose name is set down below,

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[1] See my *Book of Governors, or the Historia Monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Margâ*, A.D. 840, vol. i, Syriac text; vol. ii, English translation; 2 vols., London, 1893.

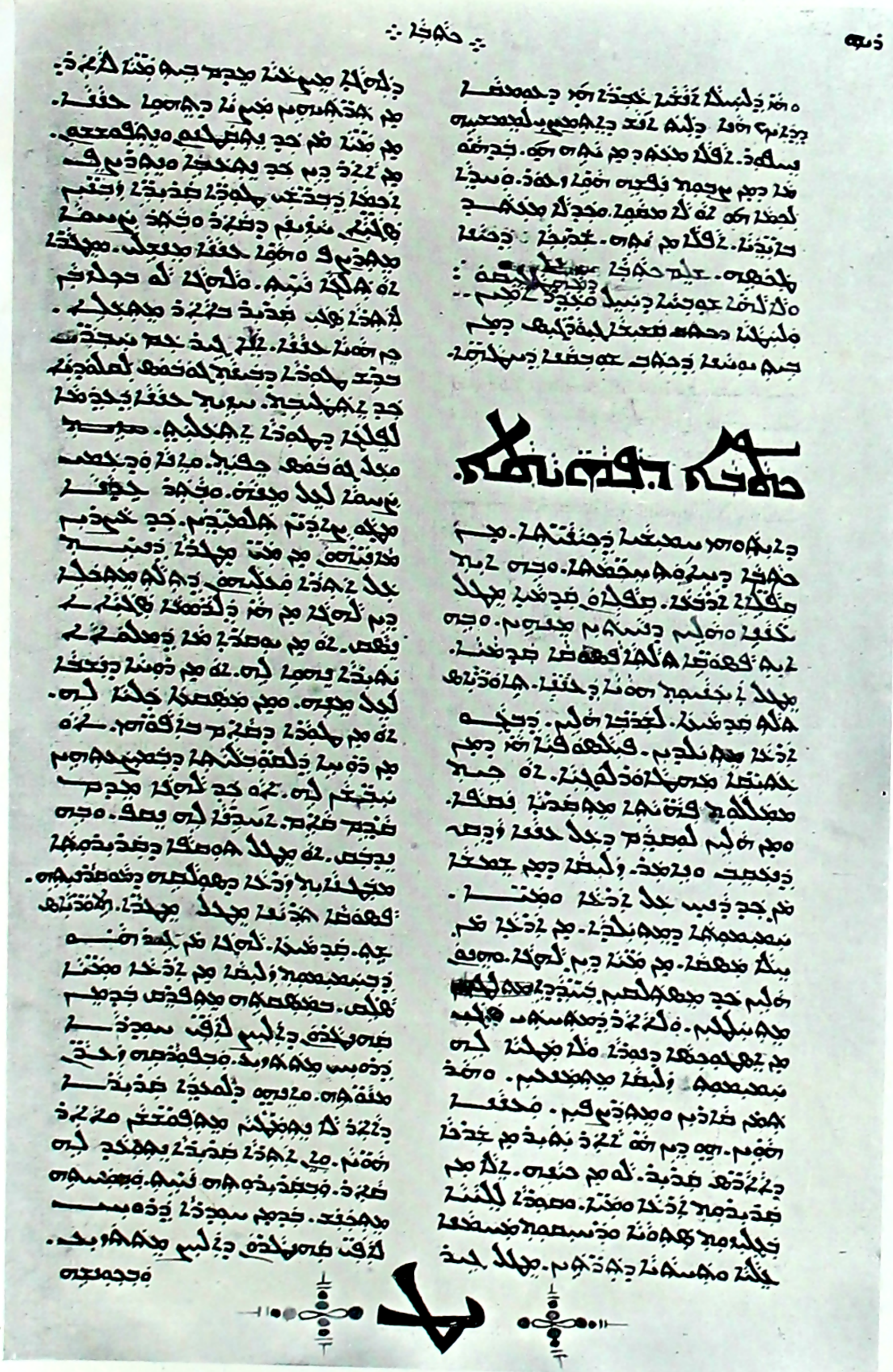
[2] See my *Laughable Stories collected by Mâr Gregory John Bar-Hebraeus*, Syriac and English, London, 1897.

[3] See my *Rabban Hôrmîzd the Persian*, Syriac and English, 3 vols., London, 1902.

[4] By Sergius of Âdhôrbâîjân; for the Syriac text see Heft 2, 3 of Bezold's *Semitistische Studien*, Berlin, 1894; and for the English see the preceding work.

[5] See my *History of the Virgin Mary*, Syriac and English, 2 vols., London, 1899.

[6] In February, 1889, he began to fast the Nineveh Fast. He went down into an underground cellar of his church and sat there, eating and drinking nothing for many days. At the end of the eighth day he collapsed, and was carried to his "cell," and his disciple came to me and told me his master was dead. I went to see him, and found him in a pitiable plight, and his disciple and I stripped him, and rubbed him well with hot oil, and administered spirit of ginger and brandy with a teaspoon. By the evening he was better, and we fed him on mutton broth and rice for some days, and in a week he was himself again. As my personal "fee" he gave me a copy of the Book of Galatians written with a dry stilus on strips of palm-leaf, and as my official "fee" he sold me the "Cream of Wisdom."



A page of the Syriac text of the "Cream of Wisdom" from the manuscript formerly in the possession of Mâr Mîlôs, Metropolitan of the Chaldeans.
Brit. Mus., MS. Oriental, No. 4079, fol. 188B.

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bought this book from its owner, Jijû, the son of Bendaḳ, the son of Michael, the priest, the son of George John, the priest, who copied it. And having made a copy of it with my own hand, I have sold it to the Royal Library, that is to say, to the Library of Great Britain, through the honourable man of learning, Mr. Budge, who hath come to Môṣul enquiring for the antiquities of Nineveh." Then follows the impression of his episcopal seal with the words "Êlîyâ Yûḥannan Mîlôs, Metropolitan of the Chaldeans, 1864."[1] I corresponded with Mâr Mîlôs for several years, and he helped the British Museum to acquire many Nestorian manuscripts. In his last letter to me dated the 24th of Îyâr, 1899, he says: "My eyes have become weak and failed; blessed be the Name of the Lord nevertheless," and he signed himself "Êlîyâ Mîlôs, Chaldean Metropolitan of Mârdîn and Naṣîbhîn" (Nisibis).

Meanwhile the days passed and I had not yet received Sir William White's telegram mentioning the dispatch of the permit for Dêr. As I was unwilling to sit still in Môṣul I decided to make a little tour through the villages about Môṣul and to visit the famous Monasteries of Rabban Hôrmîzd and Mâr Mattai, and to find out if it was possible to acquire any manuscripts there. As I intended to visit the former monastery first, I obtained letters to the Prior from Mâr Mîlôs and other Nestorian friends, and letters to the priests in all the villages where I expected to find manuscripts. Armed with these and the good wishes of their writers, I set out for Al-Ḳôsh at 7 a.m., November 29th, accompanied by Nimrûd Rassam and a very excellent Kurdish muleteer, who was commonly called "Al-'Askar," or "the soldier." We rode in a direction almost due north, and passed through the enclosure of Nineveh and came out at the north gate. We arrived at the large village of Tall Kêf, or Tall Kîpâ, or Tall Kêpê, at ten o'clock, and we were

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[1] The manuscript is 18 inches high and 12 inches wide, and is dated A.Gr. 2120 = A.D. 1809. Its number in the British Museum is Oriental 4079.

warmly welcomed, for Nimrûd had many friends there. The priests, who by some means had heard of our coming, had prepared a meal for us, and we only escaped from spending the whole day there by promising to pass the night with them on our way back. The clergy told me they had many Syriac manuscripts to show me, and that they would be glad to sell some of them. We got away with difficulty, and did not arrive at Baṭnâyê, or Ṭyṭnâyê, as the natives call it, until noon. As this village was inhabited by Chaldeans of the same sect as Nimrûd he was received by them with singing and much noise, and with many entreaties to stay with them for several days. We only stayed to take a hurried look at the Syriac inscriptions on the sepulchral monuments of the priests of the village, which were set up on the walls of the Church of Mâr Cyriacus and Maryâm al-'Adhrâ, or Mary the Virgin, and then went on to Tall Usḳuf,[1] or Tall Sḳîpâ, which we reached in about an hour. We rested here until two o'clock and then rode on, leaving Ḥaṭârah, a Yazîdî village, on the left, and skirted the little stream called "Sharâfîyah," and then crossed the plain to the village of Al-Ḳôsh, arriving there at four o'clock. Nimrûd took me to the house of Ḳuss Thômâ, who welcomed us warmly and insisted on providing supper for ourselves and our horses. In the course of the evening many priests and scribes came in and talked about manuscripts, and the time passed very pleasantly. I enquired of them if any of the books of the famous old deacon Hômô[2] of Al-Ḳôsh were still in existence, and though they told me there were not, I felt sure that there were. And before I left Al-Ḳôsh I was convinced that somewhere

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[1] See Yâḳût, i, p. 863. In Rich's time a society of nuns lived there. (*Narrative*, ii, p. 101.)

[2] He and his brother Yaldâ were the sons of the priest Daniel of Al-Kôsh, and he was alive in 1709. He wrote the famous manuscript Add. 25,875, from which I edited the Syriac version of the Life of Alexander the Great, by Pseudo-Callisthenes (Cambridge, 1889). See also Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, pp. I and XXIII.

among the clergy a hoard of fine Syriac manuscripts was preserved.

The following morning, November 30th, my host took me to see Al-Ḳôsh.[1] The people were chiefly Nestorians, or Chaldeans, and judging by their faces most of them seemed to be of Kurdish origin. The village, or town, as it undoubtedly was in ancient days, owed its importance to the fact that it was the seat of the Nestorian Patriarchs after they were obliged to leave Seleucia and Baghdâd. Its pre-Christian history is unknown. It is commonly believed throughout Mesopotamia that Nahum "the Elkoshite" was born there and his tomb is pointed out in the village to this day, Benjamin of Tudela[2] says that Nahum was buried at Môṣul, but makes no mention of Al-Ḳôsh. The town cannot have been of any great importance in the Middle Ages, for the great Arab geographers tell us nothing about it. The houses are built of stone and plastered in places, and resemble in many details those of Tall Kêf and Tall Usḳuf. The two churches dedicated to Mâr Gîwârgîs (George) and Mâr Mikhâ are of little interest. I paid a visit to the so-called "Synagogue of Nahum the Prophet." It is a small building, and the room which contains the tomb was some hundreds of years old. The tomb itself is of the usual kind, a huge rectangular box covered with cloth and shut off from the rest of the room by a screen. I was shown a Hebrew roll on which was written the prophecy of Nahum, and it resembled the Aden manuscripts of the fifteenth century. The property belongs to the Jews, and once a year, on the sixth of Îyâr (May), all the Jews from neighbouring places make a pilgrimage there and celebrate a festival.

As we were leaving the Synagogue a priest came up to Nimrûd bearing a message from the Prior of the famous Monastery of Rabban Hôrmîzd, who kindly invited me to pay him a visit and stay the night in

[1] For the condition of the village in the middle of the nineteenth century see Badger, *Nestorians*, i, p. 104.

[2] Ed. Asher, p. 91.

the monastery. I was delighted with the idea of this and accepted the invitation gratefully. We set out in the early afternoon and soon after we left the village the path began to rise quickly, and we found ourselves riding up a track which had been made by a mountain stream. In places the monks had cut a road through the rock, and many parts of it were paved with rough cobbles. We ascended a steep bit of path, fortunately short, and then reached the platform on which the monastery stands. Strictly speaking, the building is not a monastery of the ordinary type, with cells, etc., for it consists of two old churches, one above the other, and two or three modern chapels. The rocky defile by which we ascended opens out, as Rich rightly said,[1] into a kind of amphitheatre, and the churches stand on a deep ledge almost in the centre of it. The scenery is very grand and awe-inspiring. In ancient days the monks lived in a series of cells hewn out of the sides of the amphitheatre, and only came down to the church on Sundays and days of festival to receive the Sacrament. In fact, Rabban Hôrmîzd was a Laura and not a monastery; the lay brethren lived close to the church, and the "old men" and anchorites lived in the cells in the rocky amphitheatre. When we mounted the platform on which the church stands we were most kindly received by Ḳuss Yuḥannîs, who had spread out carpets and cushions for us to rest upon, and we sat down and enjoyed the marvellous scene before us. We sent the horses back to Al-Ḳôsh, and as the Prior insisted on it, our supply of provisions with them; I had misgivings about parting from our food, but Nimrûd said that the Prior would be sorely hurt if I attempted to eat my own food whilst I was his guest.

After a short rest the Prior took me to see the churches and chapels and allotted me my "cell." The great church is a rectangular building with no windows, and light is only admitted into it from the upper church

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[1] *Narrative*, ii, p. 90 ff.

or chapel. The altar is in reality the tomb of Rabban Hôrmîzd, and the Prior seemed gratified when I asked to be allowed to carry away an envelope full of the earth from the base of it to keep as an amulet to afford me protection on my journey home. I visited the two chambers in the upper church, *i.e.*, the Sanctuary and the Baptistery, and two modern chapels, which did not interest me much. I saw the tombs of several of the Nestorian Patriarchs in the upper church and obtained copies of the inscriptions upon them ;[1] and the Prior pointed out to me the names of C. J. Rich, Mary Rich, Dr. Bell and Justin Perkins cut on one of the pillars of the great church. At sunset the Prior announced that supper was ready, and he led us into a chamber where there were several priests and monks, and we all sat down to a long, low, heavy wooden table and ate. The food consisted of boiled wheat or barley, a little very coarse bread, and a large bowl of thin vegetable soup ; as a concession to the weakness of his guests the Prior ordered a dish of Sinjâr honey as a finish to the repast, but even with this the meal was not satisfying. A lengthy service was to be held in the church that evening which would last several hours, and he invited me to attend it, but I said that I would rather retire to my "cell" and read the History of Rabban Hôrmîzd if he would let me have a manuscript and a light. He sent for these, and when they arrived he led me up to my "cell." This was a chamber near the upper church, and was in reality a hollow in the rock with a spacious opening on one side through which I looked down on a rocky valley with a brawling stream at the bottom of it. Pointing to this stream the Prior told me that it had been the means of destroying the great library of over one thousand manuscripts, Arabic, Syriac, Ḳarshûnî,[2] and Greek (*sic!*), which the monastery once possessed. About 1750 the Hamawand and other

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[1] I have summarized these and their contents in my *Book of Governors*, vol. i, p. clxxi.

[2] *I.e.*, Arabic written in Syriac letters.

Kurdish tribes attacked the monastery several times, and the monks removed the manuscripts to a small building down in the valley. One February there was much rain, and the snow melted and ran down into the valley in such a torrent that it swept the little hiding-place away and carried most of the manuscripts into the stream. Many of them were rescued, but when they were dried it was found that all the ink had been rubbed off and the vellum and paper leaves were almost blank. Between 1840 and 1844 the Kurds attacked the monastery twice and pillaged it. On the second occasion they proceeded most methodically and left the place bare. They killed many of the monks, smashed everything that could be smashed, robbed the church and defiled it, and all the manuscripts they could lay their hands on they hacked to pieces with their knives and threw down into the stream.

When the Prior left me I settled down to read the Life of Rabban Hôrmîzd. This work set forth that the saint was born at Bêth Lâpat, or Shîrâz, at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century; his parents were Christians and his father was called Joseph and his mother Thecla. At the age of twenty he became a monk in the Monastery of Rabban bar 'Idtâ, where there were 264 monks, and in due course he received the tonsure. He possessed great spiritual gifts; he raised a dead boy to life, and turned water into oil, and though the devils attacked him he always conquered them. Seven years later on the advice of Sylvanus, Bishop of Ḳardô, he became an anchorite and lived in a separate cell. He fasted for ten days at a time, prayed with tears all day, and never lay down to sleep at night, and his spiritual powers developed exceedingly. He lived for thirty-nine years in the Monastery of Bar 'Idtâ, and for seven years in the Monastery of Abraham of Rîshâ in Margâ, and performed marvellous cures. He then went to Bêth 'Edhrâi, near Al-Ḳôsh, with Abraham of Bêth 'Abhê, and after the latter went from there and founded a monastery at Nineveh, the people of Al-Ḳôsh came to Hôrmîzd and offered to build him a

monastery. The monks of Bazḳîn and of Mâr Mattai tried to kill him, but failed, and God destroyed the Monastery of Bazḳîn. He healed Shâibîn, the son of the Governor of Môṣul, and caused Ignatius, the Jacobite, his opponent, to die of grief and shame. Fifty of the disciples of Mâr Îth-Allâhâ joined him and built a church, and Khôdhâhwai of Bêth Ḳôphâ, near Nineveh, contributed seven talents of silver, and 'Uḳbâ, the Governor of Môṣul, three talents. The monastery was built in twenty months, and was consecrated by the Catholicus Tûmarṣâ[1] the Second, who decreed it to be free from the jurisdiction of any Metropolitan or Bishop. Whilst the work was in progress Hôrmîzd went to the Monastery of Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maḳlûb, and managed to open the grave of Mattai and take out from it a "little brass idol with eyes of blue beryl," which he carried off to his monastery and showed to his monks, 111 in number. In return for this a number of Jacobites set out to kill him, but whilst they were crossing the Tigris the boat capsized and they were all drowned. Hôrmîzd went again to the Monastery of Mâr Mattai and destroyed all the books in the library there. He died in his own monastery aged eighty-seven years.[2]

The manuscript which the Prior lent me contained a very curious metrical life of the saint which was sung in the church on the day of his commemoration, but before I could read it the lamp went out for want of oil. I then tried to sleep, but the "cell" was very cold and I could not do so. But the view from the opening which enabled me to look into the valley and right away over the plain between Al-Ḳôsh and Môṣul was wonderfully fine, and in the bright moonlight the Tigris, thirty miles distant, was distinctly visible. Its

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[1] The correct form of the name is Taimarsâ'û, and, according to Hoffmann means (*Auszüge*, p. 21), "Servant of Riḍâ." Bar Hebraeus only mentions Tûmarṣâ I, who sat from A.D. 384 to 392.

[2] See my *Book of Governors*, vol. i, p. clvii ff., and for the full Syriac text and translation see my *Life of Rabban Hôrmîzd*, 3 vols., London, 1902. For the saint's life by 'Ammânûêl, Bishop of Bêth Garmai, see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 19 f.

stream looked like a great band of shining silver laid out over the country. Meanwhile the service in the church went on hour after hour, and the voices did not cease until the day broke. I afterwards found that Mr. and Mrs. Rich had inhabited the "cell" when they visited the monastery, and Rich was correct in describing it as "rather an airy lodging."[1]

We left the hospitable Prior and his monks early in the morning of December 1st, and went down to visit the new monastery, which is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and built on the plain at the foot of the mountains. We were warmly received by Ḳuss Shmûêl, who was a very intelligent and superior man; he could read Latin, and speak ancient and modern Syriac, French and Italian. Among his books was a manuscript copy of the Homilies of Aphraates, taken from Wright's edition of the great work of this famous Persian Christian. We then set out for the village of Al-Ḳôsh, and on our way I asked Nimrûd if it would be possible to pay a visit to Shêkh 'Adî,[2] the great centre of the cult of the Yazîdîs, which lies about twenty miles due east of Al-Ḳôsh. Nimrûd looked horrified and crossed himself at the mention of the "devil-worshippers," and at once discovered that affairs in Môṣul needed his attention. It was evident that if I went there I should have to go by myself. When we reached the village I found there a messenger from Môṣul who had brought a telegram for me which had arrived there the day before. On opening it I learned the welcome news that Sir William White had that day sent to Baghdâd the permit for excavating Dêr, and he advised me to proceed there without delay to receive it. I therefore gave up the idea of going to Shêkh 'Adî, and told Nimrûd that we must return to

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[1] Excellent drawings of the monastery are published by Rich (*Narrative*, vol. ii, plate facing p. 98) and Badger (*Nestorians*, vol. i, plate facing p. 102). Photographic views will be found in Preusser, *op. cit.*, plates 25–28.

[2] See Badger, *Nestorians*, i, p. 105; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 81, 85; Parry, *Six Months*, pp. 361–374; Wigram, *Cradle of Mankind*, pp. 104, 105.

Môṣul at once. I told our kind host, Ḳuss Thômâ, to send or bring to Môṣul the manuscripts which he had acquired for me, and we set out on our return journey at noon.

After we had been on the road a couple of hours the day changed suddenly and it began to rain so heavily that we were soon wet to the skin, and as there seemed to be no hope of the clouds breaking we decided to fulfil our promise and stay at Tall Kêf for the night. We hurried on and reached this village at 4.30, and were most kindly welcomed by the priest of the Church of Mâr Cyriacus, who had a good fire lighted and did everything to make us comfortable. After the evening meal Nimrûd told me that the inhabitants of the village wanted me to do them a service, and that a body of them proposed to come into the house and tell me what they wished me to do. Of course I said I was willing to do anything I could for them, and some twenty-five or thirty greybeards thronged into the room and seated themselves quietly on the cushions placed by the walls, and then the priest explained to me what they wanted. The substance of his speech was this: The branch of the Nestorians to which the Chaldeans of Tall Kêf belonged was in danger of coming to an end. The operations of emissaries from Rome on the one hand, and the successful work of the American Missionaries on the other, were undermining their Church, and many of its members had become lukewarm and careless about their religion, and the Chaldeans there present thought that a determined attempt must be made at once to counter the influence of Rome and the work of the Americans, and to instil new life into their Church. They loved England and the English, and the Church of England, and they wanted union with the Church of England. The possessions of their Church were becoming fewer, and they needed help from England to maintain their sacred buildings, to provide plate for the Sacramental Services, candlesticks for their altars, vestments for their priests, and church furniture. The Archbishop of Canterbury was doing a great deal for the Nestorians at Urmî,

and they were certain that he would help them if he knew about their needs. They said they knew that I was a friend of their Church, and that I knew old Syriac, and therefore they asked me to seek for an interview with the Archbishop when I returned to England, and to explain their case to him, and to ask him to send them altar plate and an English priest provided with the vestments prescribed by their ancient ritual. An English priest lived at Urmî, why should not one live at Tall Kêf? Their request was earnestly supported by Nimrûd, who gave me many reasons why the Archbishop of Canterbury should be made acquainted with their wish. In reply I said that I had heard and understood their words, and that I was ready to do anything I could to be of use to them. But I suggested that they should appeal to the Archbishop by letter stating their case briefly, but clearly, and saying exactly what they wanted him to do for them. I reminded them that I was only a layman, and therefore not entitled to speak with authority on such matters. And I told them that if they would write a petition to the Archbishop and have the seal of every householder affixed to it, I would see that it came into the hands of His Holiness. The greybeards then withdrew to talk over the matter.

Three hours later they came back, and the priest, their spokesman, said they had been to church and prayed for guidance, and that having been "directed" to do so, they had drawn up a petition which he would read to me. In order to be quite certain about the nature of its contents, I made Nimrûd interpret the clauses one by one, and as it stated in clear and concise phrases the wishes of the Chaldeans of Tall Kêf, I agreed to take it to England when the seals of all the petitioners were affixed. The priest inked his seal and impressed the document with it, and then a seemingly endless row of men came in, each with his seal in his hand, and added their seal marks with solemnity and in silence. When the priest gave me the petition, I told him that I proposed to send it to England with official papers by registered post, but he begged me not to do so, saying that he was

certain that the Jacobites in Môṣul would bribe the postal authorities and steal it! So I carried the document with me to London.[1]

The matter of the petition being at length settled, the priest said that there was a further question to discuss before we left Tall Kêf. He said that the villagers and he were thankful for my help, and that they wished to present either to me personally, or to the "Mûsîa khânâ" (Museum-house), an ancient Syriac manuscript as a mark of their gratitude. I told him that I could not accept the proposed gift for myself, because if the authorities of the "Mûsîa khânâ" found out that I accepted gifts of the kind I should lose my *wazîfah*, or position. And I went on to say that the authorities of the Mûsîa khânâ would not accept from their friends at Tall Kêf so valuable a gift as an ancient Syriac manuscript for nothing, but that I was sure they would gladly purchase the book at a reasonable price. On hearing this he became very angry, and said, "Thinkest thou that the love for England of my congregation and of me, their servant, can be paid for in piastres? Black indeed are my sins that God hath permitted such words to be spoken to me." In reply I told him that any price which the Mijlis (Trustees) of the Mûsîa khânâ would pay for the book would only represent the market value of the paper and ink and work of the scribe, and that they knew as well as I did that the value of his love for England was beyond that of many pearls. After every man in the room had joined in the conversation, and I saw that they all were anxious to agree with me, I asked the priest what book he had proposed to present to me or to the Mûsîa khânâ? He turned quickly to one corner of the room, and drawing away a cushion pointed to a little heap of manuscripts, and told me to take the one I wanted most. I then quickly realized that this

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[1] In May, 1891, I sent the petition to Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, with a letter explaining its contents, and His Grace acknowledged the receipt of it and promised to give it his earnest consideration, and I am sure that he did so.

little scene had been carefully planned, and that no intention to *give* a manuscript to the Museum had ever existed. I examined the MSS. one by one, and found that the gem of the collection was a massive copy of the "Khûdhrâ," which filled nearly 600 folios with two columns of text to the page. The Khûdhrâ is the great "Circle" of services for all the Sundays of the year, for Lent and the Fast of Nineveh, and it contains anthems, responsories, hymns and collects specially arranged for each service.[1] It is a very old work, and the MS. before me was a copy of the Recension of it made by Îshô'-yahbh of Adiabênê in the second half of the seventh century; there was then no copy of this important book in the British Museum. After much talk the priest agreed to sell me this manuscript,[2] and after still more talk we agreed upon a price. The following morning I opened negotiations for the purchase of the other manuscripts, and before I left Tall Kêf I obtained them all. Among these were a very good copy of the famous Syriac Dictionary by 'Ishô bar Bahlûl,[3] who flourished in the second half of the tenth century,[4] and a copy of the great Chronicle of Michael the Elder, first Abbot of the Monastery of Bar-Ṣaumâ, near Melitêne, and later Patriarch (1166-99).[5] The latter is in Arabic[6] written in Syriac letters, and is of such great importance that Monsieur J. B. Chabot has published in facsimile a complete copy of the whole work.

We left Tall Kêf at 9 a.m. on December 2nd, and rode in an easterly direction towards Jabal Maḳlûb. The day was bright and sunny, although ominous banks of

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[1] See Badger, *Nestorians*, ii, p. 22; Wright, *Syriac Lit.*, p. 172; Assemânî, *B.O.*, iii, 1, p. 139, and p. 144, col. 2; and my *Book of Governors*, i, pp. x, xxxii, lvi, lx, and ii, pp. 155, 189, 296.

[2] Its number in the British Museum is Oriental 4399.

[3] Now Brit. Mus. Oriental 4406.

[4] See Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 228, and Assemânî, *B.O.*, ii, p. 442; iii, Part 1, p. 200, col. 2; the work was edited by R. Duval and published in Paris, 1888 ff.

[5] Now Brit. Mus. Oriental 4402.

[6] When Wright wrote his *Syriac Literature* he thought that the Chronicle only existed in an Armenian version (see p. 252).

To face p. 250, vol. ii.

A page of the Syriac text of the "Khûdhrâ," or "Circle" of Services of the Nestorian Church for all the Sundays of the year.

Brit. Mus., MS. Oriental, No. 4399, fol. 328A.

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clouds were piling themselves up in the north over the Kurdish mountains. I hoped that it might be possible to pay a visit to the Jacobite Monastery of Mâr Mattaî,[1] which is famous throughout the Christian world of the East as the burial-place of Abu'l-Faraj, commonly called "Gregory Bar-Hebraeus" (born 1226, died July 30th 1286). About 2.30 p.m. we arrived at the bottom of the path which led up to the Monastery, but I found that it would take us at least an hour to reach the building itself, for the path up is very rocky and steep. Nimrûd was not in favour of our attempting to go up to the Monastery, of which we had a good view. I attributed this at first to his dislike of every Jacobite person and thing which manifested itself on every occasion, but I found that he had good reason for not wishing to leave the plain. He said that the appearance of the sky and the peculiar feeling in the air betokened snow or rain, and he feared that if we stayed at the Monastery for the night we might be kept there for many days by the weather. As he knew the climate well and I did not, we turned our horses and rode back direct to Môṣul. I saw no more of Mâr Mattaî's Monastery, for Nimrûd's prognostics of the weather turned out to be correct; it began to snow that night, and for four whole days it snowed heavily, and all the roads between Jabal Maḳlûb and Môṣul were impassable. It was very fortunate that I had brought back with me all the manuscripts which I acquired at Al-Ḳosh, Bâṭnâyê and Tall Kêf.

The following day, December 3rd, I began to make preparations for leaving Môṣul. The more I thought over the difficulties which I was certain to encounter in excavating at Dêr, the more I felt the need of an assistant to help me in the work. I was sure that the Delegate who would be sent with me by the Baghdâd Government would only be, at the best, an ornamental official,

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[1] Excellent descriptions of it will be found in Badger, *Nestorians*, i, p. 96 ff., and Rich, *Narrative*, ii, p. 66 ff.; in each work a lithographed drawing of the building is given. For photographic views see Preusser, *op. cit.*, plates 23, 24.

and as Mr. Alfred Holland was at Shushtar establishing a branch of the firm of Lynch Bros., it was impossible to obtain his services. I therefore decided to suggest to Nimrûd Rassam that he should come to Baghdâd with me, and help me to look after the work, and pay the men, and superintend things generally during my absence for short periods. I was very anxious to float down the Euphrates from Musayyib, and to see various mounds, etc., on the Hindîyah Canal, and I could not do this unless I had an overseer. Nimrûd and I were discussing with the workmen on the 4th the size of the raft which I should require, and I took the opportunity of asking him to go with me to Dêr as overseer. I knew that he had never been to Baghdâd and that he had not seen Baṣrah and the ebb and flow of the tide in the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, and that he wished to go with me, but he gave me dozens of reasons why he could not go, and finally said he would not go, and that his wife's relatives would never allow him to leave Môṣul. I said no more then, but ordered a good-sized raft to be made as soon as possible. I then completed all the transactions about manuscripts which were still open, and had cases made and carefully packed my collections in them ready for transport to Baghdâd. During the last week of my stay in Môṣul, I made the acquaintance of Mr. McDowell, the successor of Mr. Ainslie in the American Mission, and Dr. Wishart, an American physician. The latter had been intending to ride to Baghdâd, viâ Karkûk, on business, but was prevented by the very bad weather and the snow in the hills. I offered him a passage on the raft, which he accepted, and thus I gained an instructive and very agreeable companion for my journey. On Sunday, December 7th, Nimrûd suddenly announced that he had made up his mind to come with me, and I was glad, for his loyalty and devotion to our work had been beyond all praise. Mrs. Rassam, the mother of Nimrûd, superintended the baking of bread-cakes and preparation of the food, and Christians and Muslims alike vied with each other in sending us little gifts of sweet biscuits, sweetmeats, etc. As we expected

to take ten days to float down to Baghdâd, the provisioning of the raft needed careful attention. I paid a farewell visit to the Wâlî Pâshâ, and at the same time asked him to send a couple of soldiers on our raft to protect us, but he declined to do so, saying that he dared not risk the lives of his men by sending them on such a dangerous journey.

On December 9th we began to arrange our raft, and found that we had to make room for a considerable load. The manuscripts filled two large cases, and Ḳuyûnjiḳ fragments and miscellaneous antiquities many cases more. Then several merchants and others who had shown me kindness and helped me in various ways, sent me packages either from themselves or their friends which they wished to be delivered at Takrît, Sâmarrâ, and Baghdâd. One merchant who was specially recommended to me asked me to take down to Baghdâd some cases of indigo (a valuable consignment which was quite differently described on the outside of the boxes!), and two men to look after them. Nimrûd's luggage contained many small "value parcels" and letters, and as everybody must have known that we were carrying letters and parcels for nothing, and so helping to defraud the Postal Department of Môṣul, I expected some trouble from the Nâzir of the Post Office before we left, but I was reassured when just before leaving I received from this official a very kind letter of farewell, to which was added the request that I would take certain account books which he sent with the letter, and hand them over to the Nâzir of the Post Office at Baghdâd. At length the last good-byes were said, and on the afternoon of December 10th we embarked on our raft, Dr. Wishart, Nimrûd, two custodians of the indigo, two or three men, specially recommended by the indigo merchant, and myself; and the raftsmen untied the mooring-rope and we pushed out into the stream. At that moment the air became filled with the piercing shrieks and wailings of the kinsfolk of Nimrûd and his child-wife, and these were renewed again and again until we were quite a mile below the town. I asked Nimrûd where his wife was, and he

said that she had been sent to look at a "karâkûz,"[1] or puppet-show, in the house of a friend, and that she would not be told he was gone until the next day.

There was comparatively little water in the river and our progress was very slow until we passed the mounds of Nimrûd; the nights were very long, about fourteen hours, and between 1 and 3.30 a.m. the bitter cold seemed to penetrate into the bones. On the third day, December 13th, an easterly gale, laden with sleet and snow, blew us into the bank, and we remained tied up there the whole day. That night animals of some kind, probably jackals, took advantage of the noise of the wind and the darkness, and stole two chickens and a quarter of a sheep which were hanging behind our shelter; in the morning we saw the marks of their paws on the planks of the raft and the sides of the bank. On the following day (December 14th) we arrived at Takrît, where we were anxiously awaited by several natives who had been advised that we were bringing parcels and letters for them. The Ḳâ'im Maḳâm, who had befriended me the year before, was absent, and his *iocum tenens* was a young and very officious person, who walked on to our raft and began asking what were the contents of our cases, to whom they were consigned, etc. I told Nimrûd to tell him that I knew no Turkish, and that I wished to know by what authority he had come on the raft. When Nimrûd translated this question he became very angry, and blustered and said that he had the right to search all rafts that stopped at Takrît, and to levy a tax on them if they were carrying merchandise; and he ordered Nimrûd to open the boxes and show him their contents. I told Nimrûd not to open the boxes and to answer no questions. Meanwhile the change in raftsmen had taken place, and our two new raftsmen went to the end of the raft and began to untie the mooring-rope. When the official saw this he became angrier than ever, and ordered a man on the bank to go and fetch men to stop us from

[1] The Punch and Judy show of the Muḥammadans.

leaving. I told the raftsmen to go on untying the rope, and as the raft began to move we stood round the official and elbowed him to the side of it, and a moment came when he had either to jump off quickly to get ashore, or to stay on the raft and go with us down the river. The effect of this dilemma on his mind was amusingly represented in the expression of his face. He jumped short and found himself up to his knees in water, and we continued our journey down the river.

The stream of the Tigris at Takrît was broad and full and the current strong, and when once we got out into the middle of the river we made good progress. On the 15th we met a strong south-easterly wind, which sometimes blew us up the river, and the work of the raftsmen was hard. During a sudden squall which turned the raft round and round, one of them jumped up and shaking his fist at the sky, shouted out, "Ya Allah, they say Thou art compassionate and merciful; it is a lie or Thou wouldst never have made such a wind as this!" Towards evening the wind dropped and a thick white mist rose up from the river and covered us over, and we tied up at once for the night; the mist was bitterly cold and wetted us effectually and we all were glad to huddle together in our little shelter. About 3 a.m. on the 16th, the coldest time of the night, one of the raftsmen woke us up and whispered, "ḥurma, ḥurma," *i.e.*, "thieves, thieves," and we got up quietly and drew our revolvers. The white mist hung like a pall over the river, several feet above the surface of the water, and was dimly lighted by the moon. Looking upstream, the direction in which the raftsman pointed, we saw a man swimming down towards us with his left hand, and holding a large knife in his right. He was making directly for us with the intention of slitting our outer row of skins as he passed by. The effect of this would be to submerge one side of the raft and to make her immovable. At the same moment we saw on the river bank a party of men running towards us with the view of attacking us as soon as their companion in the river had slit the skins; they came on quite

boldly, and apparently expected to find us asleep. The man in the river with the knife was close to the raft, and there was nothing to be done but shoot. One of the others, a very neat shot with a revolver, soon accounted for the thief in the river, and I devoted my attention to the party on the bank, who were not ten yards from the raft; two of these fell down and their companions turned and fled. Then we heard many voices coming towards the river from the desert, and quite suddenly several Arabs appeared on the bank close to the raft; it was quite clear that they were friends of the men we had driven off, and that they intended to share in the plunder of the raft. Meanwhile the raftsmen had got their mooring-ropes loose from the stones to which they were tied and we began to move down-stream. Later they told me that they heard in Takrît that an attempt would be made to steal the indigo, and when I asked them why they had not warned me, the elder man said, "We wanted the thieves to come so that you might kill them; the Arab people shoot for *fantasîyah* (*i.e.*, show, amusement), but the English shoot to kill. These thieves have robbed rafts for many years; may their souls be in Jahannum!" Further sleep that night was out of the question, so we boiled some coffee and sat down and prayed for daylight.

During the rest of that day and on December 17th we made poor progress, but the hours passed without incident, and we were content. The wind had dropped, the sky was blue, the air was warm, and the sight of the groves of palms and the beautiful gardens, which showed that we were nearing Baghdâd, was very pleasant and restful. Early in the afternoon of December 18th, as we were lazily drifting in mid-stream, my peace of mind was rudely broken by a native who appeared suddenly by the side of the raft, and said he had business with me, and must be taken on board. He had fastened together two inflated skins, and was resting comfortably upon them, and his cloak and sandals, tied together in a bundle, were on his head. We helped him on board, and as soon as I saw his face I recognized him as the native

friend in Baghdâd of whom I have already spoken (see vol. I., p. 317); I will here call him "Ḥasan." When he was dressed and had drunk coffee, and had thanked Allah for His mercy in letting us meet again, he began to tell me what the business was which had made him wait three whole days on the river bank watching for my raft. He had come to give me information about the permit to excavate at Dêr, and the substance of his remarks was this:

In 1889 the British Ambassador at Constantinople applied to the Porte, on behalf of the British Museum, for a permit to excavate Dêr. The Porte asked the Ambassador for a plan of the mounds at Dêr, and wanted the exact places where it was proposed to excavate marked on it. The Ambassador obtained a plan of Dêr from the British Museum, and forwarded it in due course to the Porte, according to instructions. The Porte sent the Ambassador's application, with the plan, to the Wâli Pâshâ of Baghdâd, and asked the usual questions about the ownership of the site, and whether any objections to the proposed excavations would be made locally. In Baghdâd someone discovered that the mounds at Dêr stood on land which formed a part of the Crown Domains in the neighbourhood, and this was duly reported to the authorities at Stambûl. What exactly happened then at Stambûl is unknown, but a few months later the Wâlî of Baghdâd arranged for the excavation of the mounds at Dêr, and told the local authorities that he had been instructed to do so by the Porte. He committed the management of the excavations to the local dealers, and work was carried on at the mounds for some months. Meanwhile the British Ambassador was waiting for a reply to his application for a permit to dig there. When at length his demands for an answer became insistent, the Porte enquired of the Wâlî of Baghdâd what success had attended his excavations at Dêr, and pressed for an immediate answer. The Wâlî replied that they had dug through all the places marked on the plan of Dêr which had been sent to him, and that, with the

exception of many thousands of broken pots, nothing had been found. There were no Muslim graves on or near the mounds, and no mosque, and as no one lived there, no objection could possibly be raised by anyone if the British were permitted to make excavations in them. The Wâlî stated that the excavations carried out by him had been very expensive, for Dêr was a long way from Baghdâd, and food for the men had to be sent there, and water had to be carried there from a considerable distance. But the Wâlî's report did not state the true facts of the case. The men he sent to dig through the mounds at Dêr found a great many things in them, Babylonian cylinder seals, several small hoards of coins in pots, and three chambers containing many thousands of Babylonian "case-tablets." The diggers and their overseers decided not to report their "find" to the Wâlî, but to keep the matter a secret among themselves, and to sell what they had found to the dealers in Baghdâd. They then came to an arrangement with the dealers, who little by little had all the Babylonian tablets and other antiquities carried into Baghdâd. This work occupied some months, and when everything had been safely deposited in Baghdâd, the overseers reported to the Wâlî that they had dug through the mounds, and that there was nothing in them but broken pots. The Wâlî transmitted their report to Stambûl, and in due course the Porte informed the British Ambassador that the permit would be granted.

The recital of the above facts gave Ḥasan much pleasure, and he laughed again and again as he gave me details of the trickery which his acquaintances had practised on the Wâlî. For myself, I was filled with disappointment and disgust, for it seemed as if, though through no fault of my own, my mission had failed in its chief object. Ḥasan must have divined my thoughts, for he at once began to point out to me the good side of the situation as it concerned myself, and said, "Be not sad of heart, for such a thing has never happened to any seeker for 'antiḳât' before. We have all the tablets in Baghdâd, we are all your friends, and we have kept

the tablets for you. You will buy them, and they shall go out of the country quickly, and you will be able to live with your English friends in Baghdâd and not be obliged to sit in the desert with the jackals and the vultures, and burn by day and freeze by night. You will have plenty of nice food to eat and clean water to drink, and there are now many oranges in Baghdâd." Meanwhile we had been drifting towards Baghdâd, and at five o'clock we reached a place on the left bank of the river, where we could hire a carriage, and drove to Baghdâd, leaving the raftsmen to take the raft through the bridge of boats, and moor it at the steps of the British Residency. My friend, Mr. George Clarke, was waiting for me, and once again I found myself under his hospitable roof. We had spent rather more than eight days and nights in coming from Môṣul, for the river was very low, and the south-easterly winds were very strong, and more than once we had to tie up in order to prevent the raft from being driven up the river. A journey by raft from Môṣul to Baghdâd in December is not one to be recommended.

Excavations at Dêr.

As soon as possible after my arrival I talked over the facts which Ḥasan had reported to me with Clarke, who knew more about the ways of Turkish officials in Baghdâd even than old Ya'aḳûb Thaddeus. He said that he knew that diggings had been carried out at Dêr secretly for months, and that there was a very large number of fine tablets in Baghdâd waiting for me to buy, and he advised me to get possession of all I wanted of them without delay. He did not know the details of the trickery that had been practised, but he could easily find out, and he sent out that night to fetch two natives, who came in a very short time, and confirmed all that Ḥasan had told me on the raft. On the following morning, December 19th, I went to the Residency and had an interview with Colonel Tweedie, who had returned from his holiday in good health and spirits, and reported to him what I had heard about Dêr. He was astonished at what I told him, and said that the matter must be gone into without delay. He sent a kawwâs to the Sarâyah to ask for an interview with the Wâlî Pâshâ, and when the messenger returned saying that His Excellency was waiting to receive us, we embarked in the Residency boat and were rowed up to the chief office of the Baghdâd Government. The Wâlî received us very kindly, and when he and Colonel Tweedie over the coffee had paid each other many elaborate compliments, and the latter had quoted Persian verses in praise of Baghdâd, we came to the question of Dêr. He listened attentively to Colonel Tweedie's translation of my statements, and then said that the Ministry of Instruction in Stambûl had telegraphed to him several times and asked questions about Dêr, and that he, knowing the site quite well, had always replied that there was nothing at Dêr

except natural hills; that there never had been any ruins there; and that, so far as the Baghdâd Government was concerned, anyone might dig there. As to the story that excavations had been made there by his instructions, it was false. If he knew who the persons were that spread such reports he would seize them, and set them to forced labour on the Hindîyah Canal. He summoned several of the members of his staff, and they all declared that they had never heard of excavations at Dêr, and some of them said that they did not know of the existence of such a place. There was nothing more to be said, and we returned to the Residency.

In the afternoon I sent for Ḥasan, and told him that the Wâlî denied all knowledge of any excavations at Dêr, and that he must take me to the places where the thousands of tablets of which he had spoken were to be seen. He was only too ready to do this, but thought that the evening was a better time for making such investigations than the afternoon. We therefore set out early in the evening, and I spent nearly three nights in examining the large collections of tablets to which he took me. There were dozens of collections to be seen, and Jews, Armenians, Muslims and Christians alike had invested their money in the tablets from Dêr, and were very anxious to sell to me. There was no doubt about the existence of the tablets, there they were before me; and there was no doubt about their provenance, for the material and the writing and the royal names showed that they were similar in every way to those which I had bought nearly two years before. Among them were hundreds of the largest, finest and oldest Babylonian contract tablets I had ever seen, and several large tablets inscribed with magical and other texts that were clearly unique; at all events, I remembered nothing like them in the British Museum. The supply of tablets was abundant, the demand for them was small, and their owners wished to sell; therefore I bought very cheaply. I selected about 2,500 tablets and other objects from among the different collections that were shown to me, and took possession

of them and packed them in stout wooden boxes for transport to England. These represented the cream of the collections. I then went over the collections a second time, and made a further selection of about 7,000 tablets, and arranged with some friends to take charge of them until the 2,500 tablets were out of the country. When I had paid for the 2,500 tablets, and they had been sent down the river a few boxes at a time, I packed up the 7,000 tablets in boxes and arranged with their owners to send them to the British Museum after my departure from Baghdâd, and to receive payment for them then. This arrangement they carried out loyally, and the Trustees acquired the whole collection before the end of 1893.

Having thus secured the best of all the tablets shown to me in Baghdâd, I reported the matter to the Principal Librarian through Sir William White, and then devoted myself to finding out what could be done on the site of Dêr itself. I saw and talked with some of the men who had been secretly digging at Dêr, and they told me that there were many places near the ruins of the walls where small "nests" of tablets were discovered, and that if I did not dig them up someone else would. On December 27th I received the permit, of which Sir William White had announced the dispatch on December 2nd, and I took it to Colonel Tweedie to register officially, and to have a translation made. This done, Colonel Tweedie, who was much displeased with the document, said that we had better show it to the Wâlî Pâshâ, and he and I went to the Sarâyah, taking Ya'aḳûb Thaddeus with us to discuss the terms of the permit with the Wâlî's secretary. When the permit was read to the Wâlî he declared that it was not a permit to dig at Dêr, but only an authorization from the Commissioners of Crown Lands in Stambûl to inspect the parts of the site of Dêr which had been marked on the plan submitted by Sir William White. In the covering letter to the document, the Minister of Public Instruction stated that he hoped to send a Delegate to watch the "inspection" of the mounds early in January, but that

up to the date of writing he had been wholly unable to find anyone who would undertake the journey to Môṣul in the winter. In the event of my deciding to begin the "inspection" of Dêr, the Wâlî was authorized to send one of his officials with me to Dêr to act as Delegate and watch the work. I asked the Wâlî if he was willing for me to go to Dêr and begin work, and he said he was.

On our return to the Residency, Colonel Tweedie and I drafted a telegram to Sir William White describing the contents of the permit, and I asked him to communicate with the British Museum, and to obtain definite instructions for me. On January 1st, 1891, Colonel Tweedie received a long cypher telegram from Sir William which said that it was the wish of the Principal Librarian and himself that I should go to Dêr and excavate there at once. It further said that the difficulty had arisen because the site of Dêr was a portion of the Crown Domains, and that His Majesty 'Abd al-Ḥamîd had revoked the permission to dig which he had given readily when Sir William asked him for it personally. His Majesty had been told that diggings had been carried on at Dêr during the past year, and it had been reported that a large "find" of tablets and coins had been made there. His Majesty had no objection to an "inspection" of Dêr being made, and he had ordered the Crown Domains officials in Baghdâd to appoint a Delegate, and to send him with me to Dêr when I went there. The Ambassador's telegram contained a message to me from Sir Henry Rawlinson to the effect that I was to use soft words, and not to forget that the object of my being in Baghdâd was to get tablets. I was to get possession of the tablets, and when my workmen stole them from the diggings I was to buy them back.

On Monday, January 5th, I began getting together provisions for our camp, digging tools, men to dig, etc. Colonel Tweedie lent me a very large rectangular tent, with double roof and a passage all round, and three smaller circular tents. In the afternoon an elderly Turkish official arrived at Clarke's house, and said that

he was deputed to go with me to Dêr, and asked me to send men and camels to his house to fetch his large wooden bed, bedding, water-pipe, etc.; he had arranged to take his servant with him, and he told me that he expected me to provide a tent for each of them, and to pay his servant's wages as long as he was at Dêr. He was an amiable and courteous Turk of the "old school," and was much given to reading and study; among his baggage were many printed Arabic books, and a Ḳur'ân and Al-Baydhâwî's Commentary, both in manuscript. We intended to go to Dêr on the 6th, but Nimrûd and several of his friends were particularly anxious to celebrate a festival on that day, and we put off our start till the 7th. Whilst wandering about with Clarke in the bazâr on the afternoon of that day, a dog came up to me and began to show that he was pleased to see me, and when I looked at him carefully I found him to be the dog that had lived in my courtyard at Môṣul in 1888. He was larger and very gaunt, and Clarke told me that he had come to Baghdâd with a caravan about a year and a half before, and that he haunted Lynch's khân, where the men often fed him. The dog answered joyfully to the name of "Saba'," which I knew him by at Môṣul, and trotted with us contentedly, and I decided to take him out with us to Dêr to be our watch-dog.

On January 7th we crossed the bridge of boats, and began to get our beasts loaded up on the west bank of the Tigris, but in spite of all our efforts we did not manage to start until nine o'clock, and we did not arrive at Khân az-Zâd until 2.30. Very soon after we began to march the sky clouded over and rain fell in such quantities that the tracks over the clay soil became covered with a layer of slippery mud, which made going very difficult. The camels seemed to lose all control over their legs, and slid about in all directions. The Delegate turned back as soon as it began to rain, and said he would join us a day or two later; for this I was very thankful. At Maḥmûdîyah we rested for half an hour, and the kindly folk there, knowing better than we did the sort of weather which was in store for us, begged us to stay

the night there, but we went on, and before long regretted that we had done so. We had to make a detour to avoid a tract of land which our guide hoped would be dry, but turned out to be covered with water, and the sun set when we were still five or six miles from Dêr. The rain never ceased, and the night fell quickly, but our guide went on, and about 7.30 we came to the ridges which contain the remains of the walls of the old city of Dêr, and we rode through the gateway and up on to the largest mound. The tents were wet and heavy to handle, but everybody worked with a will, and by ten o'clock they were all pitched, and we were able to light a fire and cook some kind of supper. As we had arranged with some Arabs at Maḥmûdîyah to bring us loads of water early the next morning, we set our three huge water-jars in position in front of the door of the largest tent before we attempted to sleep.

Rain fell heavily all the following day, and all I could do was to walk about and examine the mounds, and settle upon the places where to begin work. I found that Ḥasan's report was correct, and that a great many parts of the largest mounds had been dug into, especially in the south-east portion of it, and the broken tablets which were lying about everywhere convinced me that a great "find" had been made by those who dug there secretly. In some half dozen places it was easy to see that the excavations which they had made had been filled in again carefully, and I decided to clear these out first of all. In two places we found piles of large bricks of the Sassanian period, and close to the east gateway we uncovered easily a part of a massive buttress made of burnt bricks, bearing the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar II. In the course of the afternoon various Arab shêkhs came to see me, and they pointed out that I had made no arrangement with them for occupying the site. I agreed to employ some of their men in the diggings, and others as watchmen, but it was clear that they thought I was poaching on their preserves, and they did not like it. Still later in the day several men arrived from Abû Ḥabbah, and as they

had been employed by H. Rassam in excavation work some ten years before, I welcomed them, and they agreed to start work the next day. Before the end of the first week there were one hundred men digging at Dêr, and a few days later the number had risen to two hundred. Many of the workmen brought their wives and children with them; and they built booths to live in, and settled down very quickly; neither the heat of the day nor the cold of the night seemed to trouble them greatly. With their supply of food I had nothing to do, but they expected me to provide them with water, and it required three men and six donkeys working all day long to keep the large water-pots filled.

On the third day the Delegate arrived from Baghdâd with his servant and baggage, and our camp was complete. He brought with him a large wooden dîwân, or couch, a fine supply of large cushions, a couple of padded quilts, a very elaborate water-pipe, and many miscellaneous things. Unfortunately, he had omitted to bring a brazier and charcoal for use in his tent at night, and I was obliged to send a man on a camel into Baghdâd, twenty miles distant, that very day and buy one for him. At sunset we lifted his dîwân into his tent, and we saw no more of him for the rest of the evening. In the morning we brought it out, and he established himself on it, and sat there reading and smoking most of the day. By his side he kept his Ḳur'ân and writing paper and a brass scribe's box for pens and ink. He wore an immaculate bright red wool ṭarbûsh, or "fez," a black frock coat, light trousers and patent shoes, just as he would have done in his office in Baghdâd, and he observed the canonical hours of prayer most carefully. I never saw him go and look at the diggings, but I knew that his lynx-eyed servant watched everything that went on, and everyone who came to the camp and went from it, and reported all he saw to his master. At tea time he was always ready for a talk, and I found that, although he was a good "traditionalist" (*sunni*), and a believer in the Sulṭân's claim to be the Khalîfah of the Prophet, he was a keen student of the Shi'ite

heresies, and that he had strong leanings towards the "freethinkers" among the Muslims. He had studied the tenets of the Ṣûfîs also, and appeared to be well versed in the works which treated of the attributes of God, but my knowledge of these subjects was so little that I could not benefit by the information about them which he was always ready to give me. But though his mind was apparently always occupied with things of heaven, he managed to find a place in it for things of earth, as the following incident shows:

Whilst we were talking one day he said to me, "Hearken, my dear," and I hearkened. He then went on to tell me that the men were finding more tablets than they admitted, and some cylinder seals, and that they were sending them into Baghdâd to the dealers. We had done our best to watch the men carefully when tablets, etc., were coming to light, and I did not see what more we could do. "Can you make any suggestion?" I asked him. "Yes," said he, "go to Baghdâd from time to time and buy back the things which have been stolen from you. It is the only thing to be done." I therefore rode into Baghdâd on several occasions, and secured many tablets and small objects which I felt certain came from Dêr. When the workmen found that I did this regularly they thought they had better treat with me on the spot, and save the percentage they had been giving to the dealers, and in the end I paid each man a piastre or two for every object he found, over and above his wages, and it was profitable for them to be honest. Of course, this was to compound a felony, but it was the only practical way of obtaining the tablets.

As soon as we got to work regularly I left Nimrûd to watch the diggings and rode about the neighbourhood to look at the various mounds or hills that seemed to contain ancient remains. I went with Ḥasan to Abû Ḥabbah several times, and always found men digging there, and always finding tablets. On one occasion Ḥasan brought to me two men who had been among the gang that had carried on excavations at Dêr secretly,

and who seemed to be willing to give us information about the "finds" they made there. According to them, there were many thousands of contract tablets and business documents in clay cases, stamped with impressions of the seals of witnesses. The biggest of these were deposited in large unbaked earthenware jars,[1] which stood on the ground, and the smaller were stacked in heaps on slabs of stone laid flat on the earth. They tried to move the jars without emptying them, but the jars collapsed under the weight of their contents, and many tablets were broken by falling on the ground. The chambers in which these jars were found were 6 cubits long, 3 cubits wide, and 5 cubits deep. They had no doors, and the only access to them was through the roof. In one chamber they found rows of tablets lying on slabs, as if they had been arranged there in some special order. On the ground below them they picked up scores of pyramidal clay objects bearing seal-impressions; in the apex of each of these were the remains of a thin piece of fibrous wood, and it is probable that each pyramidal object was attached by means of the wood to a special tablet, and served as a label, but fell to the ground when the wood rotted. A considerable number of seal-cylinders were found whilst these men were digging at Dêr, and they gave me the name of a European gentleman in Baghdâd who was their chief customer. Later I entered into negotiations with him, and I acquired from him about thirty very fine cylinders of various periods, the oldest dating from about 2400 B.C. Among them were the cylinder-seal of Adda, the scribe, which is engraved with a remarkable mythological scene, not found elsewhere, and the cylinders engraved with a scene of the Sunrise, in which Shamash, the Sun-god, is depicted issuing from the portals of heaven.[2]

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[1] Many of the contract tablets at Abû Ḥabbah were found in jars arranged in rows on slate shelves; see my note in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii, p. 211 ff.

[2] Brit. Mus. Nos. 89,115, 89,110, 89,531 and 89,548. See *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, p. 160.



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Babylonian Seal-cylinders.

1. Scene of the Sunrise.
2. Worship of the Fish-god.
3. Ea-bani, mythological animal, etc.
4. Conflict with lions and other animals.

Brit. Mus., Nos. 89096, 89115, 89118, 89367.

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One morning a native arrived from the direction of the Euphrates, and enquired for Ḥasan, who had practically taken up his abode on the mound with us. He brought news of the finding of a batch of round tablets, about thirty-five in number, which were unlike any he had ever seen, and asked Ḥasan to persuade me to come and see them. He did not know where they had been found, but he thought somewhere on the Ḥayy River, not far from the Euphrates, and he went on to say that his friends who found them had brought them to a village on the Hindîyah Canal, near Kifl, and wished me to buy them. And they had many other "pillows" (*i.e.*, tablets) with them of the kinds of which I had already bought so many. From Dêr to Kifl was a far cry in those days, especially as the Euphrates had risen and was flooding the country on its east bank, but I had never been further south than Birs-i-Nimrûd, and there were many mounds along the Hindîyah Canal which I wished to see. I told Ḥasan and his friend that I would go and see the tablets, provided I could get back to Dêr in a week or so, and, as they assured me that this could easily be done, I started with them during the night, whilst the Delegate Effendi was comfortably asleep, and we reached Musayyib without difficulty in the afternoon. I feared that the journey down the Euphrates would have to be made in a "safînah," or decked sailing boat,[1] or on a raft, but to my joy I found that Ḥasan's friend was able to obtain by hire, or otherwise, the use of a "ḳayyîr,"[2] which afforded far more comfortable travelling and was quicker than either. The "ḳayyîr" boat is made at Hît,[3] a town which has been famous in all ages for its bitumen springs, and for this reason is often called the "Hît boat." It is formed of branches of trees

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[1] See the plate facing p. 218 in Felix Jones' *Memoir*.

[2] Spelling doubtful, but so the word sounded to me. Ainsworth (*Personal Narrative*, i, 440) writes "Kayîr," and Rassam (*Asshur*, p. 339) "Kaya." The correct form may be *ḳayyîrah*, or *muḳayyirah*.

[3] The "Is" of Herodotus. For Arab accounts of the town see de Goeje, *Indices*, p. 146; Yaḳût, iv, p. 997; Abu'l-Fidâ, 6, 298, etc.

woven together with reeds, straw, etc., and its sides stand up about 2 feet out of the water. Hot bitumen is poured all over the framework, both inside and outside, and when it is cooling a roller is passed over it to make an absolutely smooth surface, without "bubbles" or cracks. Ḥasan collected dates, bread-cakes, cheese,[1] boiled eggs, a skin of water, and some heavy camel's-hair cloaks, and at sunset we got into our "ḳayyîr" and made ourselves as comfortable as possible. The boat was almost rectangular, had rounded corners, and measured about 20 feet by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the widest part. Its rounded sides bent over inwards, and afforded good shelter from some of the bitterly cold winds which swept over the water. It was guided in its course downstream by two men, each having a sort of sweep, with which they most skilfully prevented it from striking the bank. There was much water in the river after the recent rains, and as we rode deep in the water the full force of the current carried us along quickly.

Two hours after we left Musayyib we came to the mouth of the famous Hindîyah Canal, and branched off on the right into it. The Hindîyah represents the canal which was dug by Alexander the Great, apparently with the view of getting rid of flood water from the Euphrates, and conducting it into the Great Swamp some distance below Al-Kûfah. When the river was not in flood the northern mouth was blocked up, and the Euphrates flowed in its entirety through Babylon. Little by little Alexander's canal became choked, and early in the eighteenth century it was impossible to pass vessels through it. About 1750 the canal was cleared out by Nuwâb Shûjah ad-Dawlah, an Indian prince, and from that time onwards it has been called the "Nahr Hindîyah." As we floated downstream we saw large numbers of men gathered together about

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[1] The name of this commodity is the same now as in Babylonian times; the Babylonians called it *gubnatu* 𒄀𒃲𒌦𒁍𒌝, and its name in Arabic is *gubn*, or *gibn* جُبْن.

camp fires and straw booths and tents, and Ḥasan told me that they were the soldiers and Arabs who had been sent by the Baghdâd Government to repair the breach which the flood of the Euphrates had made in the Hindîyah Barrage, or "Ṣadd," as the Arabs called it. A massive wall, more than a mile long, and built of splendid baked bricks from the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II at Babylon, had suddenly leaned over and fallen flat, and hundreds of men, under the direction of M. Moujel, were hurried out to rebuild it. The effect of the fall of the wall was to let the whole Euphrates pour itself out into the western desert, and finally run to waste into the Great Swamp, or Baḥr an-Najaf. As the fields on the east bank could not be irrigated, scarcity and famine, for the year at least, were bound to follow.



The Town of Kifl.

At daybreak we tied up at a village on the west bank of the canal, and some women made a fire of straw and camel dung, and boiled coffee for us; they told us that all the men were away up-stream working on the Ṣadd. When we started again we floated almost parallel with the great Hindîyah Swamp, which stretched away to the west like an island sea. We saw the ruins of Babylon away in the east, and a few miles to the south the mass of green which hid the town of Ḥillah, and about noon we tied up again for a short time at a little island opposite Birs-i-Nimrûd. The canal then became much wider, and we passed a long narrow island, and several small villages, among them being Al-'Alḳamî (on the east bank), which seems to have derived its name from the old name of the western main arm of the Euphrates. Here were several mounds which were artificial, and probably contained ruins. Late in the

afternoon we arrived at "Kifl" (Ḳafîl ?), which stands on an elevation on the east bank of the Hindîyah Canal. The wall and its little towers were in a state of ruin, and everything in the place seemed tumbling to decay. We saw the conical roof of Ezekiel's tomb, but made no attempt to visit it; the inhabitants of the town live on the offerings of the Jewish pilgrims who celebrate a festival in the tomb once a year. A little to the south of "Kifl" we came to a network of small canals, and as their navigation was not easy in the dark, we tied up until the moon rose. We started again at 11 p.m., and floated without mishap all night, and when the day broke and I opened my eyes I saw the mounds and mosque of Al-Kûfah just above me, on the west bank of the canal.

Ḥasan and his friend and I went up into the town, and whilst they enquired for the men with the tablets I walked about and wondered what there could ever have been in Al-Kûfah to give it such a great reputation among the Muslims. It was founded by the famous Arab General Sa'ad ibn Abû Wakkâs, A.H. 17 (= A.D. 638), just after the founding of Al-Baṣrah (Yâḳût iv, p. 323), but it was renowned for many reasons long before that period. According to tradition the Flood began at Al-Kûfah, and it was from the site of that town that Noah entered the Ark. It was a spot, too, which was beloved of the Angel Gabriel, who from time to time used to leave heaven and descend to earth to pray there. The enemies of its inhabitants used to quote a tradition which said that the Serpent which beguiled Eve was banished there by Allah after she and her husband were expelled from Paradise, and that lies, fraud, guile and deceit were the characteristics of the men of the town ever after.[1] It became the centre of the cult of 'Alî, the Khalîfah, who was murdered in the mosque there A.H. 40 (= A.D. 661)

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[1] For Arab accounts of the town and its founding, etc., see Bilâdhurî, p. 275 ff.; Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 28, 49, 79, 85; Ibn Ḥawḳal, pp. 162–164; Muḳaddasî, pp. 133–135; Yâḳût, iv, p. 322 ff.; Ibn Jubêr, p. 212; Ibn Baṭûṭah, ii, p. 94 f.; and Abû'l-Fidâ, p. 300.

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To face p. 273, vol. ii.



List of thirteen fields or estates with measurements and statistics. Reign of Bur-Sin, King of Ur, about B.C. 2450.

Brit. Mus., No. 19042.

by the Three Separatists (Al-Khawârij) 'Abd ar-Raḥmani ibn Muljam, Bârâḳ, and 'Amr ibn al-'Âs. The mark of 'Alî's hand on a column in the mosque was pointed out for a century or two. Al-Kûfah was famous in the eighth and ninth centuries as the abode of learned men, and a large Muslim college existed there.[1]

The town was a miserable place, and even the houses in which people were living were in a tumble-down state. The country round about the town was waste and barren, and it was impossible to conceive that the gardens of Al-Kûfah had reached to Najaf, seven miles distant. The men I met eyed me with hostility, and when I saw them collecting in little groups, and discussing me angrily, and remembered the fanaticism of the district, I felt uncomfortable. But Ḥasan and his



The Town of Al-Kûfah.

friend soon came back, and I went off with them to a group of tents pitched to the south of the town, and when we reached them, after about an hour's walk, we found there the man with the round tablets. Whilst coffee was being made by an old woman, bags filled with rice were dragged forward and the rice emptied out on the ground, and with it there came a number of objects which looked like large, round buns, tied carefully in ragged coloured handkerchiefs. I unpacked these quickly and found that nearly all the cuneiform characters on both sides were filled with a hard deposit of lime; though this made the attempt to decipher any part of the text impossible, it nevertheless guaranteed their antiquity and the genuineness of the inscriptions, and

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[1] It is said that one of the first four copies of the Ḳur'ân was preserved in Al-Kûfah, and the oldest form of Arabic writing is called "Kûfî," or "Kûfic" to this day.

I decided to acquire them.[1] Bargaining for them was a slow process, and was complicated by the fact that I had not a large supply of ready money with me, but eventually we came to terms, and it was agreed that Ḥasan's friend should come back to Dêr with us, and that he should be paid for them there. We re-packed the unique circular tablets, and several Babylonian letters and contracts which I had to buy with them, and tied them up in the bags of rice ready to go back with us.

Having now finished the business on account of which I had come to Al-Kûfah, I began to wonder how we were to get back to Musayyib, and feared that we should have to be towed up-stream the whole way there. This was undesirable for many reasons; the chief of these being that towing was out of the question during the night, and we were unwilling to draw more general attention than was necessary to our visit to Al-Kûfah. Whilst Ḥasan and I were talking the matter over, the man who sold me the tablets told us that he had come from Sûḳ ash-Shuyûkh in a sailing boat which was bound for Musayyib with a cargo. He had left her three days before with his tablets, and had come on to Al-Kûfah by canal, and he thought it very probable that she would arrive that night or early the next morning. He had made up his mind to come with us to get his money at Dêr or Baghdâd, and he said it would be quite easy for us to take passages in the boat when she arrived, and sail up to Musayyib. This seemed to be the best solution of the difficulty, and Ḥasan and I agreed to take no steps to return until the boat arrived. This point being settled, I found myself with nothing to

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[1] The round tablets were thirty-five in number. The inscriptions on them are lists of fields or estates, with their measurements (length, breadth and superficial area) and statistics. They form part of a large survey of the cultivable districts in Southern Babylonia, which was compiled during the reign of Bur-Sin I, King of Ur, about B.C. 2400. They are dated according to the system employed by the Sumerians, *i.e.*, by important events and not by regnal years. They were first exhibited in the Babylonian Room in the British Museum in 1894. (See *Guide*, p. 133 ff.)

do that afternoon. The district round about contained many ancient sites which I should have liked to visit, especially the ruins of the great Sassanian city of Al-Ḥîrah,[1] which lies about eight miles south of Al-Kûfah, and Najaf, in or near which 'Alî ibn Ṭâlib, the Khalîfah, was buried[2]. The ruins of Al-Ḥîrah are too large to be seen in an hour or two, and I asked Ḥasan and his friend if he thought we might ride a few miles towards Najaf, which is now commonly known as "Mashad[3] 'Alî," or Shrine of 'Alî. I knew that it was impossible for a Christian to enter even the courtyard of the mosque, but there seemed no reason why I should not see the outside of the famous Shi'ite sanctuary. Ḥasan was not anxious to take me out on the Najaf road, but he obtained a couple of camels, and about four o'clock we started, and rode in an oblique direction for a couple of miles, and then turned towards Najaf. In a very short time the town became easily visible, for it stands upon a sort of rocky ledge, well above the level of the plain. A wall with towers at frequent intervals runs all round it; on the south side the wall is quite straight, but on the other sides it follows the course of the ledge or spur on which the town stands. The gilded dome over 'Alî's tomb was a splendid sight, and the two minarets on the east side of the courtyard seemed to be masses of pure gold. Hasan told me that the tiles with which they were faced were inlaid with sheets of pure gold. I hoped to have got near enough to the east gate to have been able to see the coloured tiles of the third minaret and the walls, but Ḥasan saw that the "dog of a Christian" had been noticed by the men who passed us on the road, and he insisted on turning back, and we returned to the tents without mishap and passed the night there.

Early the following morning Ḥasan's friend came in

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[1] For its history see Yâḳût, ii, p. 375, who mentions the palace Khawaznaḳ in the town, and the hunting-box As-Sadîr in the desert, close to the town.

[2] Many natives still believe that 'Alî's body lies in Al-Kûfah.

[3] Literally, "place of testimony," *i.e.*, martyrdom.

saying that the sailing boat had arrived, and we went down to the river to arrange for passages to Musayyib if possible. The captain was quite ready to make a little extra money, but he said there was very little room vacant on his boat, and that if we came we must eat with him, and sit and sleep wherever we could find room. He wanted to get away as soon as possible, as he feared that stormy weather was coming. I asked Ḥasan to buy some dates and anything that he could get in the way of food, and we started on our return journey in the afternoon. Our progress was slow, but much better than I expected, though the wind dropped at sunset, and we tied up for the night. Towards the morning a warm wind began to blow in great gusts from the south and south-east, and the captain sailed before daylight. The wind became more violent after daybreak, and we were driven on to the west bank several times. Before noon the rain came down in sheets and wetted us to the skin, and the very air we breathed seemed to be watery; but we were thankful for the gale, because it drove our boat up-stream at a comparatively good pace, quite four or five miles an hour. As long as the gale was blowing we could light no fire, and for two whole days and nights we could neither dry our clothes nor boil water to make tea. On the third day after we left Al-Kûfah the wind dropped suddenly and the rain ceased, and the sun burst forth, and its fierce heat made the waste water on both sides of the Hindîyah Canal to steam, and filled the air with a stifling, misty vapour which reeked of mud and slime. The captain tied up the boat to prevent it from being swept downstream by the current, and it soon became apparent that we could only move up-stream by towing. We picked up a few men wherever we could and paid them to tow for an hour or two, but it was very hard work, and though I paid well for the service, the natives we met were always unwilling to undertake it. Whilst we were being dragged a few miles a day towards Musayyib an acute attack of malaria seized me, and added to the discomfort of the journey, for I had neither quinine

nor any other medicine with me. At length we reached Musayyib with the tablets, and seven hours' ride brought us back to Dêr.

A good deal of work had been done during the eight days of my absence, but only a limited number of tablets had been found, and the best of these came from the ruins of the private houses and business quarter of the ancient Babylonian city, or town, which had occupied the site. The chambers in which the great hoard of tablets was found had been uncovered, and thus there was no doubt that the contents of the mound had been rifled before the Porte gave the Trustees of the British Museum a permit to "inspect" the site. Large portions of thick walls made of burnt bricks, stamped with the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar II, came to light in two or three places, and as soon as this fact became known Arabs came from all parts with camels, and carried them away to sell in Baghdâd and Musayyib. The Delegate claimed to have the right to sell these bricks, and as I did not want them for the British Museum I made no objection.

As the days passed we found that the Arabs in the neighbourhood got into the habit of regarding our camp as a sort of house of call, and in twos and threes they often came to ask for water for themselves or their donkeys. On one occasion an Arab rushed up to the mound and asked for men to help him unload his camel, which had been floundering in the mud for a long time, and had fallen down. Some of the workmen went down to the last gateway and unloaded the camel, but nothing would induce the beast to make an attempt to get up on his legs. Whilst we were looking on, the camel suddenly stretched out his neck along the ground and died. Within half an hour a huge vulture dropped like a stone from the blue sky and began to rend the carcase, and every few minutes another vulture dropped down in a similar fashion and joined him. Then some carrion hawks arrived, and in a couple of hours the camel's bones were picked clean. The birds disappeared as quickly as they appeared, having performed the

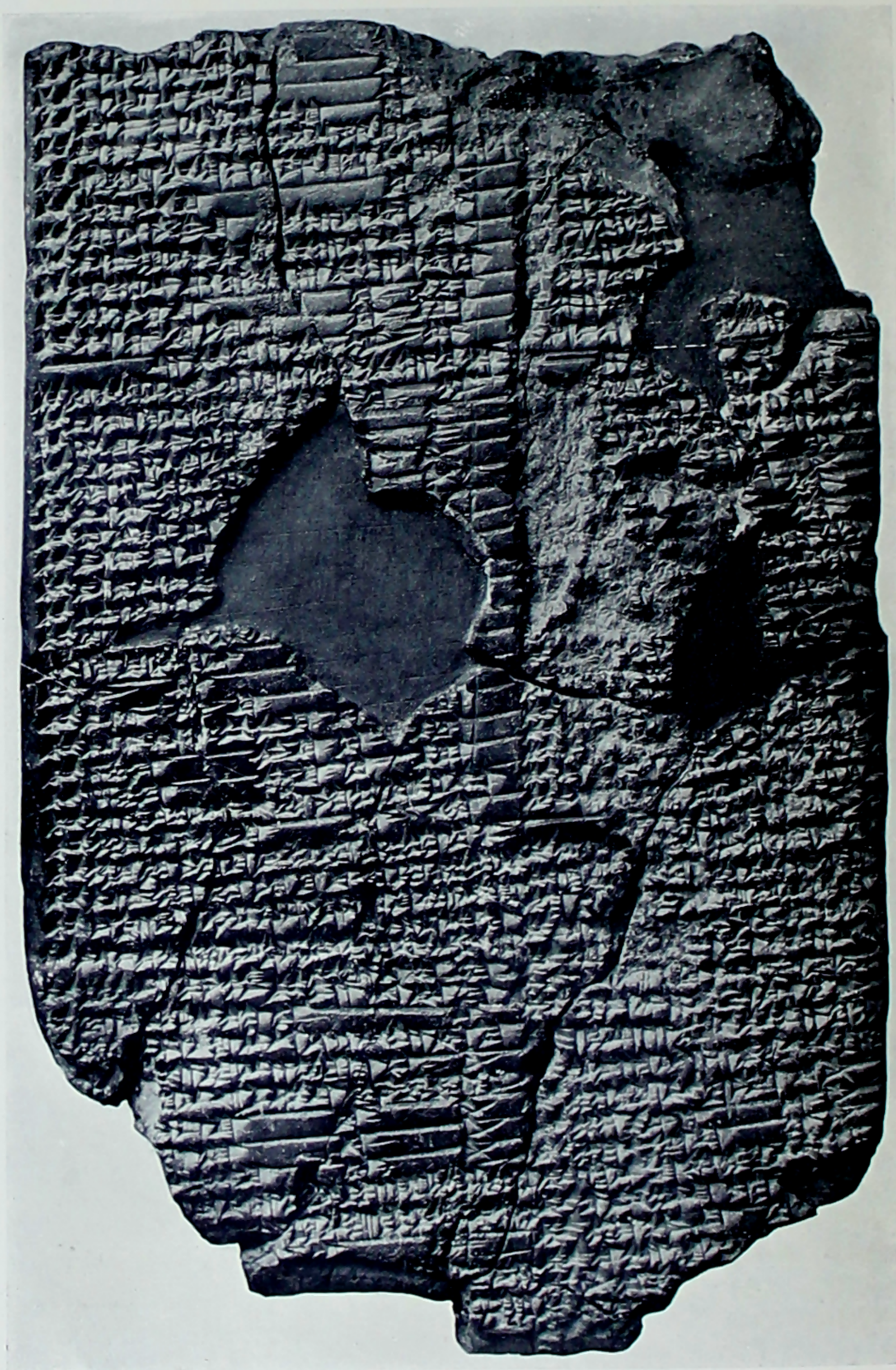
neatest and completest bit of scavenging I ever saw in that desert. In the evening the jackals came and quarrelled over the bare bones, and for several nights afterwards they came and drank out of our pails during the night, and stole anything they could find to eat. The owner of the camel worked for us until we could send him and his belongings into Baghdâd with our tablets. Many neighbouring shêkhs paid us visits, and as long as they did so during the day I was very glad to welcome them and to offer them coffee, even though they interrupted work, and stayed a very long time. But a few of them came with their followers at night, and after their departure cooking pots, rugs, pieces of carpet, etc., could not be found. One night the horse of one of them got his feet entangled in the tent ropes in the dark, and began to plunge and kick violently. In freeing himself the horse backed into the three large water-jars in front of the tent, and smashed them, and all the water was wasted, and the whole camp was without water until the next evening. On another occasion the followers of one of the shêkhs quarrelled with some of our workmen, and in the free fight which took place a paraffin lamp hanging to a pole was knocked down, and it exploded and set fire to some of the huts made of palm branches and reed mats. The zarîbah in which my horse[1] was standing caught fire, and as he was hobbled we only succeeded in saving him with the greatest difficulty. He was nearly mad with fright and screamed horribly, and it was impossible to ride him for many days. After that episode I kept a tent pitched down on the plain and received any night visitors there. From the remarks made by one and all of these shêkhs I gathered that they did not view our excavations favourably, and some of them said openly that either the Baghdâd Government or I ought to pay them for permission to dig at Dêr. They could not

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[1] 'Askar named him "Akbar," but my friends in Baghdâd called him "Museum"; he cost £4 in Môṣul in 1889, and he fetched £20 in Baghdâd at the close of the excavations.

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Clay tablet inscribed with a list of events by which the early Babylonians reckoned their years during the reigns of Sumu-abu, Sumu-la-ilu, Zabum, Apil-Sin, Sin-muballit, Khammurabi and Samsu-iluna, Kings of Babylon from about B.C. 2300 to B.C. 2110.
Brit. Mus., No. 92702.

or would not understand that we were digging merely for inscribed antiquities, but were quite sure that our real object in excavating Dêr was to find buried treasure. They thought that the English obtained the knowledge of its existence by magic (*siḥr*) and from old books, and were much surprised that we did not find pots of money and caskets of gems every few days.

I kept the British Consul-General, Colonel Tweedie, informed weekly of the progress of our work, but for some time he refused to believe that the mounds had been systematically excavated before permission to "inspect" them was given by the Porte. At length he made enquiries privately in the town, and the information which he received made him decide to visit Dêr and examine the site for himself. He drove across the desert from Baghdâd in a carriage on Friday, January 30th, and spent several hours in walking about our mound and examining the old and new trenches and shafts. When he had seen all there was to be seen he sat down and talked very high-class Arabic with the Delegate, who was delighted to be able to quote Ḳur'ân and ancient Kasâ'id (*i.e.*, poems) to him. Then they discussed the excavations, and Colonel Tweedie told the Delegate that he felt it to be his duty to write a report on the subject to the British Ambassador in Constantinople; and on his return to Baghdâd he did so, and protested against the breach of faith on the part of the Baghdâd Government and the Porte. At his suggestion the Delegate and I went on the following day to Maḥmûdîyah, and tried to obtain from the Mudîr some information about the secret diggings at Dêr, but we failed. However, he offered to sell me some very good tablets, and among those which I bought from him were the List of Events by which the Babylonians reckoned their years during the reigns of Sumu-abu, Sumu-la-ilu, Zabum, Apil-Sin, Sin-muballiṭ, Khammurabi and Samsu-iluna, *i.e.*, from B.C. 2300 to B.C. 2110,[1] and the four-sided block of clay inscribed

[1] Brit. Mus. No. 92,702. See *Guide to the Assyr. and Baby. Collections*, p. 171.

with lists of names of stones, plants, fish, birds, garments,[1] etc.

In the early days of February we had a spell of very bad weather. It began with falls of sleet, which soon stopped, and were succeeded by icy-cold winds. As we had already burnt up the sage bush in the desert about us for miles we could make no fires, and everyone suffered from the cold. At night the water froze solid in the jars, and they broke and caused us a good deal of trouble. After the frosts came heavy rains, which went on for several days, and filled the trenches with water and made work impossible, but in order to keep the men occupied I made them dig up a large number of the fine baked bricks of Nebuchadnezzar II and cover the floors of their tents and huts with layers of them two or three bricks thick. They thus obtained dry places to sleep upon.

On February 9th I began to raise the question of the export of the Arabic, Syriac and other Oriental MSS. which I acquired that year in Assyria, and sent two large cases of them to the Customs House, so that they might be passed out in the ordinary way of business. The Mudîr of Customs opened both boxes and had the MSS. examined carefully and sorted into piles according to the language in which they were written. He was assisted by one of the chief officials of the Ministry of Public Instruction (Ma'ârafah). The Syriac MSS. they passed forthwith, and gave me the *raftîyuh*, or export permit, without delay; they declined to charge any duty on them, as, being "books of the Christians," they had no value. When they were going through the Arabic MSS. they found written inside on the covers of several of them the word "waḳf," *i.e.*, "religious bequest," sometimes followed by the name of the pious donor or that of the institution to which the book was bequeathed. The Mudîr then told me that I had either stolen the MSS. myself or got others in Môṣul to steal them for me, and that it was his sad duty to confiscate

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[1] Brit. Mus. No. 92,611. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

the whole consignment of Arabic, Persian and Turkish MSS. He said that he would send them to the Ministry of Public Instruction, and that that Department would restore them to the institutions from which they had been stolen. I protested against the confiscation, and told him that the institutions to which the MSS. belonged originally no longer existed, because the various Wâlîs of Môṣul had filched away their revenues, and obliged the custodians to sell the properties in their charge in order to pay the debts incurred in managing them. To these remarks the Mudîr turned a deaf ear, and the manuscripts were tied up in his presence and sent to the Ministry of Public Instruction. I invoked the aid of Colonel Tweedie, and together we went to see the Wâlî, who listened patiently to our protest, but said that he was not prepared to take any steps in the matter. He further said that so many Arabic manuscripts had left the country in recent years that the Porte had prohibited the further exportation of old manuscripts absolutely. But he promised to have my collection which had been confiscated carefully examined, and if there were found among them any which were not *awḳâf* (*i.e.*, religious bequests) they should be returned to me. As there was nothing further to be done just then I returned to Dêr.

In the course of the following week I received a letter from Sir William White, saying that he had telegraphed Colonel Tweedie's report to the British Museum authorities, and that they had replied to it, and asked him to tell me to close the excavations whenever I was convinced that there was no object to be gained in keeping them open. On February 15th news reached me that the last lot of cases, which contained the 2,500 tablets I had acquired, had left the country, and I decided to close the excavations at Dêr at once. I therefore had many of the trenches filled in, and gave notice to the Arabs, so that they might make arrangements for taking their wives and families back to their villages. When the authorities in Baghdâd heard of this they set men to watch everyone who

came and went to the camp, thinking that I was then going to begin to export to England the collections of tablets I had bought. Whilst I was getting ready to break camp Ḥasan brought me news of another good collection of tablets which were at Abû Ḥabbah. I went to see them, and found they were good, but hesitated about taking them, because I did not see how to get them into Baghdâd. Ḥasan, however, had no doubt that he could take them into Baghdâd, and undertook to do so if I would pay the expenses incurred. The owner of the tablets did not ask for ready money. He was most anxious that they should go with me, or through me, to England, and he was content to wait for his money; therefore I agreed to take them. I returned to Dêr and saw no more of Ḥasan for a few days.

In due course our workmen went to their homes, and the Delegate, with his servant and his pipe and his cushions and his books, left me, and two days later (February 19th) I left Dêr and set out for Baghdâd with Nimrûd and the dog and our large water-jars, and other things, which were too valuable to throw away. We passed several groups of men and small caravans on the road, and several natives said they were sorry we were leaving, and gave us *salamât* (good-bye) heartily. About three miles from Baghdâd we overtook a funeral procession, which somehow always managed to monopolize the one dry track which served as a road. Three or four women tramped stolidly in front of the bier, and about ten men behind it. At one end of the bier there was a short pole with a turban on top of it, which indicated that the deceased was a man, and the rest of it was covered with a ragged green cloth. The mourners, male and female, chanted the praises of the deceased from time to time, and marched steadily on, but always keeping me behind. Knowing that the followers in funeral processions bitterly resented any attempt to hustle them aside or disturb them, I felt there was nothing else to be done but to follow quietly behind, and I did so. When we came to the bridge of boats the procession passed on to the bridge

chanting, but I noticed that the last man in it stopped and spoke to the guards of the bridge, who were standing outside their huts watching the passengers and collecting the bridge dues, and then ran on quickly to rejoin the procession. I rode on towards the bridge, intending to go straight across, when the guards stepped forward and stopped me, and said that the man who had just left them had told them that I had travelled with them and was of their party, and had agreed to pay the bridge dues for all. He had also said that the deceased was a friend of mine! And, pointing to the large water-jars, the guards said that I must pay octroi on them for bringing them into the city. Though amused at the impudence of the man in the funeral procession, I was angry at being called upon to pay octroi, and still more with myself for not knowing enough local Arabic to express my views completely. Meanwhile the funeral procession had got across the bridge and was out of sight, and, having paid all demands, we crossed the bridge and rode through the bazâr to Clarke's house. The following morning Ḥasan appeared and told me that the Abû Ḥabbah tablets were in Baghdâd. I asked him how they got there, and he replied, "They came with you yesterday." He then went on to explain that he had got up the funeral procession, and that three boxes of tablets had taken the place of a dead person on the bier. The guards at the bridge were friends of his, and he had told them about the water-jars, so that whilst they and I were quarrelling over the octroi he could make good his entry into the city. The "mourners" all came from Abû Ḥabbah, and were "interested" in the tablets, and they were all very glad to get rid of their tablets without having to resort to expensive bribery.

In the course of the conversation which followed, Ḥasan told me a story which amused him greatly, and I have often thought that he was one of the principal actors in the scenes which he described; as it illustrates a phase of Baghdâd life at that time, I summarize the facts which he related. The Wâlî Pâshâ sent the

tax-gatherers to Ḥillah to collect certain taxes that were due, and when they arrived there they announced publicly the reason of their coming, and called upon the people to pay their taxes in money. The tax-gatherers established themselves in the courtyard of the Sarâyah, with scribes who had the registers, and a huge iron chest with several bolts and locks to collect the money in. When the work was done the great iron chest was bolted and locked and sealed with several seals, and lifted by many men, for it weighed several hundredweights, upon a sort of trolley to be dragged to Baghdâd by camels. When it was sent off a guard of soldiers was dispatched with it, and it reached Baghdâd two days later at sunset. Soldiers rode out from the city to escort the box of money across the bridge, and having been brought over safely, it was taken into the large court of the Sarâyah and deposited there for the night. The guard at the gate was doubled, and sentries were stationed on the walls, and every precaution was taken to safeguard the great iron chest full of money. At daybreak the following morning the city was thrown into great excitement by the news that the iron chest had disappeared during the night. The people in the bazâr received the news with uproarious merriment, and then ran to the Sarâyah to see what they could. The courtyard was filled with a crowd of angry officials, who were interrogating and abusing the soldiers who had been posted to guard the chest, and when the crowd heard the questions and answers the courtyard rang again and again with their laughter. The soldiers swore that they had been awake all night, and that no one entered the courtyard, but the fact remained that the chest had disappeared, and neither it nor the money in it was ever recovered. The police arrested scores of men, and locked them up in prison, and "searched" many houses, though they never expected to find the culprits by these means, but it was an easy way of making a little money for themselves, for the arrested men bribed themselves out of prison, and all the owners of the houses "searched" gave them *bakhshîsh*. The stealing

of the chest was regarded as a masterpiece of the art of theft, and all Baghdâd was delighted when the Government failed to find the thieves. A report of the theft was sent to the Porte in Stambûl, and the Wâlî was told in reply that if the money was not made good Allah only knew what the Sulṭân would do to Baghdâd. The result of this answer was a forced levy on the city of Baghdâd, and no one seemed greatly displeased.

On my return to Baghdâd I made enquiries about the manuscripts that had been confiscated, and found that when they had been sent to the Ministry of Public Instruction, there was no one there who was able to read them well enough to make a list of them. The Mudîr of the Ma'ârafah in this difficulty applied to Colonel Tweedie for the loan of his Oriental Secretary, Ya'ḳûb Thaddeus, and he compiled a list of them, and, when the Mudîr had read it he decided that the manuscripts must remain in the hands of the Government. Colonel Tweedie appealed to the Wâlî,[1] but both he and

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[1] The following is a translation of one of Colonel Tweedie's letters to the Wâlî on the subject :

" No. 59. February 3rd, 1891.

" SIR,—I have the honour to bring under the special and favourable consideration of the Baghdâd Government contents of enclosed translated purport of letter to me of this day's date from Mr. E. A. W. Budge. (Please see Baghdâd Government letter No. 52, dated December 28th last.) It seems my duty, in a spirit of friendship, to indicate to your Excellency that books acquired by Mr. Budge are not intended for resale, that is, for the making by their means of pecuniary profit ; that they do not even form Mr. Budge's personal property, but that of the whole civilized world's central storehouse of literary treasures, the British Museum, in which are deposited with the utmost respect the sacred writings or Scriptures of all nations ; and that therefore, whatever regulations may be in force in the Ottoman Empire with respect to the export, by way of traffic, of records of this description can have no applicability as regards those for which so wholly different a use and destination are contemplated.

" Asking the favour of being soon informed of the result of the consideration of my present reference by your High Government, and giving expression to every sentiment of esteem, I have, etc.,

" (Signed) W. TWEEDIE, *Colonel,*
" *H.B.M.'s Consul-General, Baghdâd.*"

the Mudîr were obdurate, and I began to think that I should never see the manuscripts again. But Ḥasan came to the rescue, and he proposed a solution of the difficulty. He told me that the Wâlî was deeply interested in a certain charity in Baghdâd which was in difficulty, and needed contributions, and suggested that a gift to this charity might remove the Wâlî's scruples about releasing the manuscripts. I went to the Wâlî and in the course of conversation referred to the charity and his well-known interest in it, and asked his permission to make a humble donation to its funds; he agreed readily, and I gave the donation, and no allusion was made by either of us to the manuscripts. That same afternoon his secretary came and brought me a message from him to the effect that, as I had helped his orphans, he felt it to be his duty to release the manuscripts, which could not possibly do either the orphans or himself any good by being kept in Baghdâd. And then he handed me the "raftîyah," or export permit, and so the incident ended satisfactorily. The donation had to be added to the cost of the manuscripts, but even with this addition they were acquired very cheaply.

During one of my visits to the Wâlî I met Dr. Lubicz, the Quarantine Officer of the Baghdâd Government, whose father was famous for his knowledge of Oriental numismatics, and for the collections of coins which he made. He told me that his mother had a valuable collection of Parthian coins, which she wished to dispose of, and asked me to come to his house and see them. I accepted his invitation and went, and was introduced to Madame Lubicz, who set before me a box containing 240 Parthian and other coins. She told me that her husband had sold many collections of coins to German and Austrian collectors, and that before his death he had told her that the collection of Parthian coins was very valuable, and that it must be sold to some Government Cabinet. She did not know what value to put upon the collection, but she named a sum which represented the minimum she would accept for it. I said that I knew nothing about coins, but I offered to take

them to London and hand them over to the Keeper at the British Museum, who would, if he wanted them and they were worth it, give her the sum she named. This was not sufficient for her: she wanted me to take the coins and give her a receipt for them, as well as an undertaking to pay the minimum sum she asked immediately I arrived in London, whether the British Museum took them or not. In fact, I was expected to buy the collection on the spot, and pay for it in London. I had heard Dr. Percy Gardner, the expert on Parthian coins, talk learnedly about them, and I knew that the chance of acquiring a large collection of genuine coins like Madame Lubicz's was not often met with. I therefore took over the collection, and gave a receipt for them, and the undertaking required. When I arrived in London they were taken over by the Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, who considered the collection to be very valuable, and recommended its purchase to the Trustees at a price which was exactly double the sum named by its owner.[1] Madame Lubicz received the warrant for the money in due course, and returned me my receipt.

Having done everything I could do in Baghdâd for that season I took a passage to Baṣrah in the s.s. "Mejidieh," and arrived there with Nimrûd Rassam on February 24th. Nimrûd told me that he had relatives living at Nâṣrîyah on the Euphrates, and I invited him to come to Baṣrah with me; it was the first time he had ever travelled on a steamer, and his wonder at all he saw on it was great. H.M.S. "Sphinx" was anchored in the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab, and Captain Hart Dyke, her Commander, and his First Lieutenant, Mr. Christian, rendered me invaluable assistance in shipping a considerable number of boxes of tablets, etc., which I had picked up at various places on the way down the river. They also made me "free" of their ship, and showed me

[1] All the Parthian coins in the collection are described in Wroth's *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, London, 1903, and they include specimens of the coinage of nearly every Parthian king from Tiridates I to Volagases V.

very great kindness, and I shall never forget the hospitality of the Ward Room Mess, nor their wonderful dog "Rags."[1] Messrs. Lynch's steamer, the "Blosse Lynch," was anchored near the "Sphinx," and when Captain Hart Dyke and I boarded her I found that her Commander was my friend Somerset, who had made the journey to Babylon with me two years earlier. He offered me a passage to Ahwâz, and I was very sorry I could not go with him, for I heard that the Dieulafoys had just come back from Shushtar with many valuable antiquities.

We left Baṣrah at 3 a.m. on March 1st in the British India s.s. "Kilwa," and reached Muḥammarah at five, where we took on board over 100 tons of cargo; this unusual amount of cargo was one of the results of the opening up of the Kârûn to commercial traffic. We left at ten, and at 3.10 p.m. arrived at Fâw, where we were stopped by signal from the Submarine Cable Station. Mr. Cumming came on board and handed over to me a couple of cases containing birds and butterflies which he had collected for the British Museum (Natural History), and I shipped them in due course with other cases for England. We reached Bushire on March 2nd, and again I enjoyed the delightful hospitality of Colonel Ross. In the afternoon he drove Captain Chandler of H.M.I.M.S. "Lawrence," Captain Trench and myself out to the Telegraph Station, where the Director, Mr. Allen, showed us Sir William Thomson's syphon recorder, Wheatstone's bridge, and many other beautiful and intricate instruments in full work. We watched whilst Mr. Allen located a fault in a deep-sea cable by means of an instrument which seemed to possess most uncanny powers.

We arrived at Karachi on March 10th at daybreak, and I found a telegram awaiting me from Mr. Finch,

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[1] This wise dog was the idol of the ship. Once he went on shore at Jask with a boat-load of sailors, who forgot him and left him behind when they returned to the "Sphinx." The ship was anchored nearly three miles from the shore, but Rags swam out to it, and barked and barked until he was taken on board.

Director of Indo-European Telegraphs, who asked me to come to his house and take over a stone sarcophagus, which Colonel Ross wished to give to the British Museum. I went and breakfasted with him at the Karachi Club, where I met a great friend of Rawlinson's, Sir Robert Sandeman, Agent to the Governor-General of Baluchistân; and then Mr. Finch took me to his stores and handed over to me the stone sarcophagus, which is now in the Babylonian Room of the British Museum. I left Karachi on the morning of March 12th, and embarked on the P. & O. s.s. "Peshawar"[1] at Bombay on March 14th,

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[1] Among the passengers on board were Sir Samuel and Lady Baker, whose acquaintance I made three years earlier in Egypt. I saw a great deal of Sir Samuel during the voyage, and he was never tired of talking about Egypt and the Sûdân, and the importance of crushing the rebellion of the Darâwîsh (Dervishes), and taking possession of Khartûm without delay. His knowledge of every part of the Egyptian Sûdân was very great, and his remarks on its tribes and their religious customs most valuable and instructive. He talked much about General Gordon and the virtues and weaknesses of that remarkable man, and greatly blamed the authorities for sending him to Khartûm or, as Sir Samuel said, to his death. He was firmly convinced that the only man capable of reconquering the Sûdân was Kitchener. Sir Samuel and his wife managed to obtain a table for themselves and their personal friends from Ceylon, and in spite of my dilapidated apparel, insisted on my joining them. As he loved to talk of the time when he was Governor-General of the Sûdân and of his discovery of Albert N'yanza in 1864, and was always ready to answer questions, we all enjoyed our meal times thoroughly. One night he told us the story of how he and his bearers lost their way in some awful swamp on the White Nile, and of how a lot of his "boys" deserted and carried away all the food and the medicine chest, leaving himself and his wife practically alone to die, for they both were suffering severely from fever. As he told the story, passengers seated at the neighbouring tables stopped their conversation, and craned their necks to hear what he was saying, and the waiters, both black and white, stood still and listened. When he had told us how he divided the last dose of quinine between himself and his wife, and how they both collapsed and laid themselves down to die in a fœtid mass of mud and vegetable slime, an enthusiastic psychical lady at our table, who had been listening with bated breath to every word Sir Samuel spoke, addressed herself to Lady Baker and said, "O dear Lady Baker, do tell us what you felt and thought at the moment when you had swallowed the last grain of quinine and laid yourself

and arrived at Suez on March 24th at daybreak. I left the ship at Suez, and, according to my instructions received in Baghdâd from Sir William White, went to Cairo to see the British Consul-General, Sir Evelyn Baring, and to make arrangements about the transport of the granite shrine at Philae to England. I took the opportunity of paying a short visit to various natives, who lived between the Pyramids and Mêdûm, and acquired a few small, but valuable antiquities, among them being the rock crystal figure of the goddess Ta-urta, (from Dahshûr). At Mena House, I found my old friend the Rev. W. J. Loftie, where he was acting as chaplain[1], and Professor W. Robertson Smith, of Cambridge. The rest of my time in Cairo was occupied with the arrangements for making casts of the sarcophagus of Khufu-Ankh,[2] the human-headed lion of Thothmes III,[3] the Hyksos Sphinx,[4] the historical stelæ from Jabal Barkal,[5] the statue of Khāfrā,[6] etc. I left Cairo at the end of March, and resumed my duties at the British Museum on April 19th.

According to instructions, I wrote a full report of my Mission, which was submitted to the Trustees at their meeting on May 9th, with a covering report by Mr. Renouf, the Keeper of the Department, and my immediate chief.

At the same meeting Dr. Rieu, Keeper of the Oriental Manuscripts, submitted a report on the Arabic, Syriac and Karshûnî manuscripts which I had acquired, and stated that he considered them well worth the money I paid for them. And the Trustees "approved" of the work I had done and of the acquisitions I had made,

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down to die, and were waiting for your soul and spirit to leave your body." Lady Baker's handsome, genial face beamed as she looked about her, and with a little chuckle she said, "My dear, I don't know what Sam thought, but I know that I longed for a quart pot of stout and a porter-house steak!"

[1] Brit. Mus., No. 24,395.
[2] Brit. Mus., No. 1111.
[3] Brit. Mus., No. 1109.
[4] Brit. Mus., No. 1120.
[5] Brit. Mus., Nos. 1122, 1125, 1126, etc.
[6] Brit. Mus., No. 1113.

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Painted portrait figure of Queen Tetâ-sheret. About B.C. 1600.
Brit. Mus., No. 22558.

and recommended me to the Treasury for an honorarium of £200. Considering that I had not received any grant for outfit, and that I had been robbed in the Sinjâr hills of much of my kit during the execution of my duty, this amount did not seem to be excessive; but the Treasury granted me £150 only (June 17th), on which, of course, income tax had to be paid.

The practical results of the Mission were:

2,552 Babylonian tablets, including contracts, letters, reports and business documents, written in the reigns of Sumu-abu, Sumu-la-ilu, Zabum, Apil-Sin, Sin-muballiṭ, Khammurabi, Samsu-iluna, Abêshu', Ammiditana, Ammizaduga, and other kings of the First Babylonian Empire (2300 B.C. to 2040 B.C.).

25 Babylonian cylinder-seals in hard stone.[1]

261 Assyrian tablets and fragments and miscellaneous antiquities from Ḳuyûnjiḳ.

205 Arabic,[2] Syriac,[3] Ḳarshûnî,[4] Persian[5] and Turkish[6] MSS.

218 Parthian and other coins.

248 Egyptian stelæ, papyri, statues, and 1 Tall al-'Amârnah tablet, and the statue of Teta-Khart.

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[1] These and the tablets form the 91, 5-9, 1-2559 Collection in the British Museum. Several hundreds of them are described in the *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Collections*, and the texts of many hundreds are published in various parts of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, London, 1896 ff.

[2] Brit. Mus. Oriental, Nos. 4240–4378.

[3] Brit. Mus. Oriental, Nos. 4395–4422, 4428–4444.

[4] Brit. Mus. Oriental, Nos. 4423–27.

[5] Brit. Mus. Oriental, Nos. 4379–4392.

[6] Brit. Mus. Oriental, Nos. 4393–4.

APPENDIX I.

On February 28th Captain Hart Dyke, Dr. Morrison, the surgeon of the "Sphinx," and I went up in the launch to Ma'ḳîl to take photographs. We visited the English cemetery there, which was in a neglected condition; there were twelve graves there, one of them being that of a Vice-Consul of Baṣrah, aged 33. A little way off we found Robertson's grave, which was covered with a slab of Maltese stone. The letters of the inscription had been filled in with lead, but from several of them the metal had already been stolen to make bullets. The two lines at the foot of the slab were from Newman's "Lead, Kindly Light":

> And with the dawn those Angel faces smile,
> Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.

The graves of his two little children are on the other side of the river. Many attempts to plant shrubs and trees about these graves had been made by members of the English colony at Baṣrah who loved Robertson, but the authorities had always had them pulled up or destroyed within a few hours of their being planted. All such plantings were regarded by the natives as attempts to acquire freehold property without paying for it, and the authorities were afraid that, if they allowed shrubs or trees to grow there, all the land covered by their shadows would be claimed as British territory. From the cemetery we went into the Khân to look at the tablet which was set up by the Bombay Government to commemorate the foundering of the s.s. "Tigris" in 1836.[1] It is a large rectangular tablet with a pediment, and the inscription is bilingual—Arabic and English. The following is a copy of the English portion of the inscription:

This Fountain[2] commemorates the awful event, which visited the Euphrates Expedition 21st May, 1836, near Is Jarîa, about 85 miles above Ana.

The Expedition was descending the river with full prosperity, when it was visited suddenly by a hurricane, with tremendous violence. Both vessels were placed in imminent danger, from which the

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[1] For a full description of the wreck see Ainsworth, *Personal Narrative*, vol i, p. 390 ff.

[2] I was told that the fountain, above which the tablet was to have been placed, was never made.

Euphrates escaped. But the Tigris foundered, and with her were lost the chief part of the souls on board.

The names of those who were swallowed up in the sudden vortex are:

Lieut. Robert Cockburn, Royal Art^{ly} (Passenger).
,, R. B. Lynch, 21st Native Bengal Inf^{y}
Mr. Yusuf Sader. Interpreter.
Mr. John Struthers. Engineer.

Acting Serj^{t}	Richard Clark	} Royal Artillery.
Gunner	Robert Turner	
	James Moore	
	Thomas Jones	
	James Hay	

Private Archibald M'Donald, Roy^{l} Sappers & Miners.

Benjamin Gibson	} Seamen.
John Hunter	
George Liddel	
Thomas Batty	
Thomas Booth	

Abbo	} Natives.
Warso	
Yakûb	
Mânî	
Padros	

The names of those who by God's mercy were miraculously saved are:

Col^{l} F. R. Chesney, Roy^{l} Art^{y} Com^{r} of the Expedition.
Lieut. H. B. Lynch, Indian Navy.
Mr. Henry Eden, Mate, Indian Navy.
Ass^{t} Surg^{n} C. F. Staunton, Royal Artillery.
Mr. A. A. Staunton, Ass^{t} Surg^{n} to the Expedition.
Mr. W. T. Thompson, Assistant Draftsman.
Corporal Benjamin Fisher, Roy^{l} Sappers & Miners.

Q^{r} Master	Elias Lowrie	} Seamen.
	William Benson	
	Michael Greama	} Maltese
	George Vincienzo	

Shaikho.
Muhammad.
Hasan.
Antonio.
Khalîl.
Ali.

Sir Robert Grant and the Members of Council at Bombay, in admiration of the labōrs and exertions with which the Expedition had surmounted its many and great difficulties up to the above moment, and sympathising in the unhappy fate of the brave men who died, have raised this monument to their memory. And the British Residents in India with a generous and charitable liberality at the same time collected largely to afford pecuniary relief for the surviving relatives.

APPENDIX II.

List of the Arabic MSS. Acquired in Môṣul and the Neighbouring District.

1. Book of Psalms and Canticles of Moses, Isaiah, the Virgin Mary, etc. ... ... Or. 3706
2. Commentary on the Apocalypse translated by B. Yûḥanna al-Sûryânî ... ... Or. 3707
3. Lessons from the Gospels for the whole year ... ... Or. 4099
4. The Dialectica of John Damascen, etc. Part of the Greek is lost ... ... Or. 4245
5. Exposition of the rites of the Chaldean Church by Mâr Yûsuf II ... ... Or. 3708
6. Treatise on Christian morals ... ... Or. 4240
7. Works of St. Theresia ... ... Or. 4241
8. Rare cases of confession by Christoval de Vega (died 1672) ... ... Or. 3709
9. Treatise on Metaphysics by al-Khuri Buṭrus al-Tûlâni ... ... Or. 4243
10. Another copy ... ... Or. 4247
11. (1) A Treatise on Logic by Jacquier translated by A. Ṣabbâgh ... ... } Or. 4246
    (2) A Treatise on Logic by al-Khuri ... ...
12. Introduction to Logic by al-Khuri ... ... Or. 4244
13. Another copy ... ... Or. 3710
14. (1) A Treatise on Logic by Joachim, a Basilian monk ... ... } Or. 4242
    (2) A Manual of Logic, Sam'ân Ṣabbâgh ...
15. Al-Ḳur'ân, complete ... ... Or. 4101
16. Al-Ḳur'ân, complete ... ... Or. 4102
17. Al-Ḳur'ân ... ... Or. 4248
18. Al-Ḳur'ân ... ... Or. 4249
19. Al-Ḳur'ân ... ... Or. 4250
20. A work on the various readings of Al-Ḳur'ân, A.H. 561 = A.D. 1166 ... ... Or. 4257
21. A commentary upon 'Aḳilât al-Atrâb ... ... Or. 4252
22. Commentaries on Al-Ḳur'ân, grammatical, etc., A.H. 1061 = A.D. 1651 ... ... Or. 4253
23. Commentaries on Al-Ḳur'ân ... ... Or. 4254
24. Last volume of the commentary of al-Ḥusên bin Mas'ûd ... ... Or. 4255
25. A volume of the Kashshâf of Maḥmûd bin 'Umar ... Or. 4256

26.	Commentary of Al-Baiḍâwi	Or. 4258
27.	First half of the commentary of Jalâl ad-Dîn ...	Or. 4259
28.	Commentary on Surat Yûsuf and a Persian treatise by 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad	Or. 4277
29.	A treatise by Ibn Salâmah bin Naṣr	Or. 4261
30.	The first volume of al-Jâmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ	Or. 4262
31.	The third volume of the commentary of Muḥyi ad-Dîn, etc.	Or. 3679
32.	Collection of authentic traditions by Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥusên	Or. 4263
33.	A collection of 300 traditions	Or. 4368
34.	A collection of traditions by Abu'l-Faḍl 'Iyâḍ bin Mûsa	Or. 4279
35.	A commentary on the 'Aḳîdah ash-Shebânî	Or. 4264
36.	The third volume of the theological system of Iḥya 'Ulûm ad-Dîn	Or. 4268
37.	Selections from the same	Or. 4374
38.	Commentary by Sa'ad ad-Dîn at-Taftâzânî	Or. 4265
39.	First half of the preceding commentary	Or. 4270
40.	A commentary on the theological treatise of Nâṣir ad-Dîn	Or. 4266
41.	A treatise on Kalâm by Sayyid Abu'l 'Abbâs ...	Or. 4267
42.	The questions of Moses to God, and traditions about hell and the day of judgment	Or. 4276
43.	The apocryphal book Zubûr Dâ'ûd	Or. 4278
44.	A treatise on the duties of religious life by 'Abd al-'Azîz	Or. 4271
45.	Exhortations to a religious life by Tâj ad-Dîn ...	Or. 4273
46.	Refutation of attacks against Sûfîs by 'Abd ar-Raḥîm	Or. 4275
47.	A treatise on religious life	Or. 3199
48.	A commentary on ar-Risâlat ar-Raslâniyyah... ...	Or. 3684
49.	A large collection of traditional prayers by Yaḥya bin Sharaf	Or. 4282
50.	Prayers of Abu 'Abdallah Muḥ...	Or. 4283
51.	Prayers and traditions in Arabic and Turkish ...	Or. 4251
52.	Commentary by Ḥusâm ad-Dîn on the sources of the law	Or. 3680
53.	A compendium of law by Abu'l Ḥusên Aḥmad ...	Or. 4284
54.	A treatise by Zahîr ad-Dîn al-Marghînânî	Or. 4305
55.	A work on Ḥanafi Furû' by Najm ad-Dîn	Or. 4286
56.	A compendium of Ḥanafi Furû' by Muzaffir ad-Dîn...	Or. 4289
57.	A treatise of Ḥanafi law by Ṣadr al-Sharî'ah	Or. 3683
58.	A compendium of Ḥanafi Furû' by Ḥâfiẓ ad-Dîn ...	Or. 4290
59 60	Abridgment of the commentary of Ibrâhîm bin Muḥ	Or. 4300 Or. 4301
61.	Treatise on the Ḥanafi Furû' by Ibrâhîm bin Muḥ...	Or. 3682
62.	Multaḳa'l-Abḥûr	Or. 4292
63.	The third volume of the Rauḍat al-Ṭâlibîn	Or. 4287

64. A compendium of Shâfi'i Furû' ... ... Or. 4293
65. A volume of the Muḥarrar ... ... Or. 4285
66. A volume of commentary upon the Muḥarrar ... Or. 4296
67. A text-book of Shâfi'i Fûrû' ... ... Or. 4295
68. A commentary on the Minhâj al-Ṭâlibîn ... ... Or. 4291
69. A commentary upon a law book ... ... Or. 4294
70. A treatise on Shâfi'i Furû' ... ... Or. 4297
71. First volume of a commentary on the Mukhtaṣar al-Khiraḳi ... ... Or. 4288
72. Kitâb al-Mîzân by 'Abd al-Wahhâb ... ... Or. 4298
73. A treatise on Sunni Furû' ... ... Or. 4299
74. A commentary by 'Abdallah al-Shanshûri ... ... Or. 4302
75. A treatise on the law of inheritance by Sirâj ad-Dîn... Or. 4304
76. A treatise on the law of inheritance by Badr ad-Dîn... Or. 4303
77. Portion of a general history of dynasties by Jamâl ad-Dîn ... ... Or. 3685
78. A work on general history by 'Abd ar-Raḥmân bin Muḥ ... ... Or. 4306
79. The history of Joseph by Muḥammad bin Abu'l-'Abbâs ... ... Or. 3705
80. Life of Muḥammad by Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Bakri ... Or. 4281
81. Biographical Dictionary ... ... Or. 3686
82. A work on the life of al-Shâfi'i by Fakhr ad-Dîn ... Or. 4311
83. Lives of the writers and poets of Spain by Abu Naṣr al-Fatḥ ... ... Or. 3688
84. Author's account of his journey from Baghdâd to Constantinople by Sayyid Abu'l-Thanâ Shihab ad-Dîn Or. 4309
85. An encyclopædia by Amîn al-'Umari ... ... Or. 4310
86. Commentary on Ḥikmat al-'Ain by Shams ad-Dîn Muḥammad ... ... Or. 4312
87. Gloss of Mirza Jân on the commentary of Muḥammad bin Mubârakshâh ... ... Or. 4313
88. Isagoge of al-Abhari ... ... Or. 4321
89. Super-commentary by Najm ad-Dîn ... ... Or. 4315
90. An anonymous gloss on the commentary of Sa'ad ad-Dîn ... ... Or. 4316
91. Glosses of al-Sayid al-Sharîf ... ... Or. 3822
92. Another copy ... ... Or. 4319
93. Commentary of 'Abdallah Yazdi ... ... Or. 4317
94. A gloss on the commentary called al-Mas'ûdi ... Or. 4320
95. A commentary on the metrical treatise of Algebra by Shihâb ad-Dîn ... ... Or. 3693
96. Commentary on the treatise al-Mulakhkha by Mûsa bin Maḥmud ... ... Or. 4323
97. A zoological dictionary based on al-Damîri ... ... Or. 4325
98. A volume of the Canon of Avicenna ... ... Or. 3689
99. A metrical treatise on medicine... ... ... Or. 3691
100. A treatise on drugs ... ... Or. 4324

101. A treatise on hygiene and diet ... ... Or. 3690
102. A work on spirits and incantations by Âṣaf bin Barakyâ ... ... Or. 4326
103. A cabalistic work ... ... Or. 4327
104. Dictionary of philosophical terms ... ... Or. 4322
105. The Ḳâmûs ... ... Or. 3694
106. Commentary on the Mi'at 'Âmil ... ... Or. 4328
107. The versified grammar of al-Ḳâsim ... ... Or. 4329
108. Al-Miṣbâḥ, a commentary and the Kâfiyah of Ibn al-Ḥâjib ... ... Or. 3080
109. Commentary on the Miṣbâḥ ... ... Or. 4331
110. A gloss on the same ... ... Or. 4332
111. Grammar of Ibn al-Ḥâjib ... ... Or. 4333
112. Commentary of al-Khabiṣi ... ... Or. 4334
113. Glosses upon al-Wâfiyah... ... ... Or. 4339
114. Al-Fawâ'id al-Ḍiyâ'iyyah with marginal notes ... Or. 4335
115. Gloss on the preceding by 'Abd al-Ghafûr ... ... Or. 4337
116. Al-Fawâ'id al-Ḍiyâ'iyyah ... ... Or. 4336
117. A treatise on inflection ... ... Or. 4338
118. Commentary upon a grammatical work ... ... Or. 4351
119. The Alfiyyah of Jamâl ad-Dîn Muḥammad ... ... Or. 3695
120. Another copy ... ... Or. 4343
121. Commentary upon the Alfiyyah ... ... Or. 3696
122. Another copy ... ... Or. 4340
123. A commentary by 'Abd ar-Raḥmân al-Sayûṭi ... Or. 4341
124. A commentary by Abu Mûḥ ... ... Or. 4344
125. Commentary on a treatise on Syntax (Lubb al-Albâb) Or. 3697
126. Marâḥ al-Arwâh, the Taṣrîf, etc. ... ... Or. 4342
127. A commentary on a Grammar by Fakhr ad-Dîn ... Or. 4345
128. Grammatical commentary by Jamâl ad-Dîn... ... Or. 4348
129. Another copy ... ... Or. 4349
130. A work (Urjûzah), a commentary, etc. ... ... Or. 4350
131. A commentary by Abu'l-Thanâ ... ... Or. 4346
132. Grammatical treatise by Ibn Hishâm ... ... Or. 4347
133. Commentary by Shêkh Muṣṭafâ ... ... Or. 4352
134. Commentary by Ḥusên bin Aḥmad ... ... Or. 3698
135. The third part of the Miftâh al-'Ulûm ... ... Or. 4354
136. Commentary on a rhetorical treatise ... ... Or. 4355
137. Glosses of Ḥasan Chelebi ... ... Or. 4353
138. A commentary upon the Dîwân of Al-Mutanabbi ... Or. 4356
139. A commentary of Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Ali ; first half ... Or. 4357
140. The preceding ; complete ... ... Or. 4358
141. Commentary by Ibn Badrûn ... ... Or. 3702
142. The Dîwân of 'Umar ibn al-Fâriḍ ... ... Or. 4359
143. A commentary on the above ... ... Or. 3700
144. A collection of religious poems by various authors ... Or. 4363
145. The Takhmis of the Burdah ... ... Or. 4360
146. Commentary on the Burdah, and a mystical poem ... Or. 4361

147. The Hamziyyah of al-Bûṣiri ... ... Or. 4362
148. A Sûfi poem and a Sûfi work ... ... Or. 4364
149. A Kasidah by Muḥammad bin 'Umar al-'Alami ... Or. 4365
150. The Dîwân al-Dawâwîn ... ... Or. 4366
151. A Dîwân of Sûfi poems ... ... Or. 4367
152. The anthology of Shihâb ad-Dîn ... ... Or. 3701
153. Stories of deliverance by Kadi Abu 'Ali ... ... Or. 4370
154. A compilation of religious and moral precepts by Abu Muḥammad ... ... Or. 4369
155. A collection of tales and anecdotes ... ... Or. 3704
156. A large collection of sayings and anecdotes ... ... Or. 3703
157. (1) Story of King Azâd-bukht, (2) Story of Ḥaiḳâr, (3) Apologues of Josephus ... ... Or. 4100
158. Gloss of Tîmûr Muḥammad on the Commentary of Al-Baiḍâwi ... ... Or. 3678
159. A Sûfi tract and treatise, description of Mecca, etc... Or. 4274
160. A treatise on the distinctive attributes of Muḥammad by Al-Suyûṭi ... ... Or. 4280
161. A collection of four works, life of Muḥyi ad-Dîn, etc.... Or. 4308
162. A collection of three works ... ... Or. 4314
163. A collection of four works ... ... Or. 4318
164. A collection of four works ... ... Or. 4371
165. A collection of three works ... ... Or. 4372
166. A collection of three works ... ... Or. 4373
167. A collection of four works ... ... Or. 4375
168. A collection of fifteen works ... ... Or. 4376
169. A collection of three works ... ... Or. 4377
170. A collection of six works ... ... Or. 4378

An Action for Slander. Rassam v. Budge.

On December 31st, 1891, the Keepership of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum became vacant on the retirement of my immediate chief, Mr. (afterwards Sir) P. Le Page Renouf, on his attaining the prescribed age, and the Trustees appointed me Acting-Assistant Keeper, and an Extra Assistant of the First Class. From the recommendations of the Keeper, which were approved by the Trustees, as already stated (see p. 290), and from my promotion I naturally assumed that there was no doubt about their entire satisfaction with my management of the foregoing Missions which had been entrusted to me. But afterwards rumours reached me from time to time about the indignation and exasperation of the native overseers in Baghdâd who had been dismissed by the Trustees in consequence of my report, and I could not help seeing that there were people in this country who, from one motive or another, sympathized with them.[1] However, this did not disturb me, as I

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[1] The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates* (June 3rd, 1892, Ser. 4, vol. v, col. 556):

Mr. T. Dolling Bolton: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he could state to the House how many missions Mr. Budge has undertaken to Mesopotamia, and what has been the cost of them; what antiquities he has brought back; from whom did he purchase them; and where it is alleged they were discovered?

Mr. A. J. Balfour: Mr. Budge has made more than one journey to the East for the British Museum, the costs of which have been defrayed out of a special grant. I hope the hon. gentleman will not press for particulars on the subject, because I think that the utility of any action Mr. Budge may take in the future will be considerably impaired, to the great detriment of the Museum and of public learning if his conduct were discussed in the House.

Mr. Bolton: May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether he is aware that grave doubts have been thrown on the researches of

was satisfied with the approbation of the authorities under whom I served.

The native overseers and watchmen who had been dismissed had been appointed by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, and he considered their dismissal a reflection on himself. And his opinion was shared by Sir Henry Layard, on whose recommendation he had been appointed by the Trustees to be the chief overseer of their excavations in Mesopotamia. Sir Henry also was disappointed with the re-arrangement of the Assyrian sculptures which he had acquired for the Museum, and complained that the new "Guide" to the Collection did not give Mr. H. Rassam sufficient credit for his share in their excavation. He not only expressed his views in private, but wrote a letter to *The Times* (July 27th, 1892, p. 8), which in due course was answered by the Principal Librarian (*The Times*, July 29th, p. 6), who pointed out that the re-arrangement was due to the necessity for providing space for a lecture-room, and quoting passages in the "Guide" to show that Mr. Rassam's services had not been underestimated. In his reply to this, Sir Henry reiterated his opinion and intimated that he would not pursue the subject further as it would be investigated shortly in a Court of Law. (*The Times*, August 1st, p. 10). And a few months later Mr. Rassam brought an action against me for slander and claimed £1,000 as damages. Messrs. Lewis and Lewis, my solicitors, wrote to the Trustees in November, 1892, and suggested that the Treasury be asked to defend the action. The Trustees were of opinion that the slanders alleged to have been uttered by me were uttered in my official capacity, and adopted the suggestion. The Treasury declined to defend the

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Mr. Budge, not only by those well qualified to speak on the question in England, but also by learned Societies in Germany and other places abroad?

Mr. Balfour: I have every confidence in the judgment of the experienced officials of the British Museum in this matter. I am not well acquainted with the controversy to which the hon. member has referred, but I do not think that any real ground for scepticism exists in the minds of those who are competent to judge.

action, saying that "Mr. Budge must defend himself in the first instance. Upon the case being decided their Lordships will consider an application for re-imbursement of the cost incurred, or of so much as the Solicitor to the Treasury advises to have been properly expended." The case was tried before Mr. Justice Cave in June and July, 1893, and the hearing occupied five days; Mr. Rassam obtained a verdict in his favour with £50 as damages. Obviously I am not the proper person to discuss the merits of the case. It was fully reported in the daily papers and was the subject of comment in some of them on the day after its conclusion. I may here quote some portions of the leading articles in *The Times* and *Daily News*.

From *The Times*, July 4th, 1893, p. 10.

"Mr. Budge, who is now the assistant-keeper of Assyrian antiquities in the Museum, was sent out to Bagdad some years after Mr. Rassam had completed his work, and he appears to have heard rumours there which he wrongly credited. At all events, in June, 1891, a conversation took place at the Museum in which the defendant used words which, in the opinion of the jury, implied that the plaintiff was a party to the theft of antiquities, the property of the Museum. Sir Henry Layard, who was himself the first great explorer of Assyria, was present at the time, and the defendant substantially repeated the charge in a second conversation at Sir Henry Layard's house. On the first occasion, although the slanderous words were uttered in a public part of the Museum, nobody but officials of the Museum and Sir Henry appears to have been present; on the second, the conversation, we are told, took place 'in strict confidence.' The Judge, however, laid down that although Sir Henry Layard had voluntarily done much useful work for the Museum, there was nothing in his position to make the conversation 'privileged.' The fact that the second conversation took place in confidence and that Mr. Budge had been

directed by his official superior to tell Sir Henry all he knew about the plaintiff was, of course, immaterial. It may, however, not impossibly, have influenced the jury in assessing the damages. They were unable to agree upon the question of 'malice,' and they awarded the plaintiff only £50. While we admit the general justice of the verdict, it is impossible on the whole not to regret that the plaintiff did not take the advice of Sir Henry Layard and his other friends and refrain from bringing the action."

From the *Daily News*, July 4th, 1893, p. 5.

"Mr. Rassam has obtained a verdict for fifty pounds as damages in his action against Mr. Budge of the British Museum. It is enough. Mr. Rassam was the gentleman who took out the famous letter to King Theodore of Abyssinia, and was imprisoned, and afterwards handsomely indemnified, for his pains. Subsequently, he conducted Assyrian excavations at Abu Habbah, in the interest of the British Museum, but, greatly to the disgust of the Museum, the best things discovered did not find their way to the national collection. Other museums obtained them of the private brokers into whose hands they passed. Mr. Budge, a British Museum official, expressed himself too freely on the subject in regard to the conduct and the responsibility of Mr. Rassam. He said that we only got the rubbish, and that the foreigners got the good things, and moreover, that they got them through the negligence of Mr. Rassam, or with his connivance. He went so far as to say that the overseers employed were relations of Mr. Rassam, and that they furthered his private breaches of trust. This was not true, they were not Mr. Rassam's relations; they only said they were; and the Eastern imagination is so luxuriant. Mr. Rassam maintained that all he found he sent home, and it was not his fault if precious things were afterwards found by others and sold at a good profit. It was his misfortune, beyond question, for, as the mound was excavated at the expense of

his employers, all the plums should have gone to them. Mr. Budge made what most persons would have considered an ample apology, but this was not enough for Mr. Rassam or for his counsellors. Sir Henry Layard and Mr. Renouf gave evidence on behalf of Mr. Rassam, and the trial was, in some respects, a sort of antiquarian festival. These distinguished persons have not been in the intimacy of Assur-bani-pal for nothing. Their measures of time are not as our measures: otherwise, the better part of a week would hardly have been devoted to the settlement of such a case."

The wider bearings of the case were afterwards discussed in *Nature* (August 10th, 1893, p. 343), and I reprint[1] the article here as it treats the subject from another point of view.

The Thieving of Assyrian Antiquities.

"So much interest is now taken in the archæological researches made in Egypt and Assyria that it behoves a journal of science to chronicle a case of considerable importance that has recently been before the Law Courts. The case is noteworthy, because it is concerned with the excavation and disposal of the wonderful tablets, the decipherment of which has added so much to our knowledge of the early history of mankind.

"We have not referred to the case earlier as we had hoped that some action in the public interest would have been taken by the Trustees of the British Museum, which would have carried the matter a stage further. For this action, however, we have waited in vain.

"Although the real question at issue is the spending of many thousands of public money, the case in the newspapers has taken the form of an action for libel. The plaintiff in the case was Mr. H. Rassam, formerly

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[1] The article is reproduced here by the courtesy of Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., who in their letter of July 3rd, 1918, gave me permission to reprint verbatim both the article and the two letters of Mr. Rassam which followed it on September 21st and October 5th.

assistant excavator to Sir Henry Layard in the works carried on for the Trustees of the British Museum, on the sites of the ancient cities of Nineveh and Calah in Assyria. His action was against Dr. Wallis Budge, Acting Assistant-Keeper in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. It was alleged that Dr. Budge had made certain reports concerning the way in which Mr. Rassam had disposed of some of the excavated antiquities, and that these statements were made to Sir H. Layard, both at the British Museum and elsewhere. The statements were said to imply that Mr. Rassam had connived at depredations on the sites of the excavations made by him in Babylonia during the years 1876–82 for the Trustees of the British Museum. Mr. Rassam estimated that his reputation had suffered by these charges to the extent of £1,000, and after a hearing of four and a half days, the jury decided in his favour, though there was a difference of opinion among them as to whether Dr Budge's statements were actuated by *malice prépense*, and awarded him £50 to make up for the loss sustained by the defamations and to soothe his virtuous indignation. Such was the case before the public; the public interests behind it may be gathered from the following statement:

"It will be remembered that so far back as 1846 Mr. Layard began to excavate at Kouyunjik for the Trustees of the British Museum. These excavations had, we understand, been commenced at the expense of Sir Stratford Canning, on the spot where the eminent Frenchman, Botta, had begun to work, but were afterwards taken over by the Trustees of the British Museum, who indemnified Sir Stratford Canning, and paid Mr. Layard's expenses. When Mr. Layard came home, a year or two later, the excavations practically stopped, but were renewed at the expense of the Trustees of the British Museum, under the direction of a native, Mr. H. Rassam, the plaintiff in the present case. The funds spent by the Trustees on these works were provided by the Treasury, and therefore all the results, without exception, belonged to the British Museum by right. In 1873 the late

Mr. George Smith made an expedition to Assyria at the expense of the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph*, with a view of discovering other fragments of the tablet containing the Assyrian account of the Flood. He subsequently made a second and a third expedition to the country (where, in 1876, he unfortunately died), at the expense of the Trustees, with funds granted by the Treasury. In 1878 Mr. Rassam again appeared on the scene, and under the authority of a permit from Constantinople renewed diggings in Assyria, and began to open new sites near Babylon, at the expense of the British Museum. It will be seen then that, with very slight exceptions, the money has been found by the British Treasury. We now turn to the results of this expenditure. From the evidence elicited at the trial it appeared that soon after Mr. Rassam began to dig in Babylonia, collections of tablets found their way into the London market, and these were bought by the British Museum for considerable sums of money (*The Times*, July 1st). If we remember rightly, Dr. Budge stated that between the years 1879 and 1882, while Mr. Rassam was excavating, a sum of at least £3,000 of public money was spent in this manner. Now, as no other excavations were being carried on except by the British Government, and as the internal evidence of the tablets indicated that those which they received from Mr. Rassam as the result of his works, and those which they purchased had the same origin, it was natural that the public department should begin to grow uneasy. And this feeling became stronger when it was found that the tablets purchased were of much greater value archæologically and historically than those which arrived at the British Museum from Mr. Rassam. Speaking broadly, it seems from the evidence that Mr. Rassam sent home 134,000 pieces of inscribed clay from Babylonia, and of these more than 125,000 are what Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Maunde Thompson and Dr. Wallis Budge style 'rubbish.' (*Standard*, June 30th, *The Times*, July 3rd.) This represented the direct return for the outlay. What did go wrong we cannot say, but the outsider will certainly think that some-

thing did go wrong in this matter. In 1882 Mr. Rassam came home, and in this and the following year collections of tablets and other antiquities of very great value were offered to the Museum for purchase; in fact, the supply appears to have been so great that it was some three or four years before the British Museum had funds to buy what it was offered. In 1887 the British Museum despatched Dr. Budge to Mesopotamia with instructions to make investigations into the sources of the supply of tablets which were coming to London, and on many other points, to touch upon which does not concern us. (*The Times*, July 1st, *Standard*, June 29th.) While in Bagdad Dr. Budge obtained a great deal of information upon the subject of the systematic trade in Babylonian antiquities which was being carried on, and he found that the agent who had been appointed at Mr. Rassam's instigation, and who represented himself as Mr. Rassam's 'relation' (*Standard*, June 29th), and who was paid by the British Museum to protect the sites, was himself actively engaged in the sale of antiquities. On visiting the sites of the excavations Dr. Budge found that clandestine diggings were going on, and he was also able to purchase many valuable tablets and other antiquities from the peasant diggers. (*The Times*, July 1st.) The information which he gathered on all these points he sent home to the British Museum in the form of reports, one of the results of which was the dismissal of the native agent. On two subsequent occasions Dr. Budge visited Assyria and Babylonia, and carried on excavations for the Trustees, and he acquired some thousands of tablets.

"It will easily be guessed that from first to last a very considerable sum of public money, amounting to tens of thousands of pounds, has thus been spent upon excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, and the question naturally arises, 'Has this money been spent judiciously, and has the nation obtained what it had a right to expect in return for the money?' It seems pretty evident that people other than the Trustees of the British Museum have obtained collections of Assyrian antiquities, and it appears to us that this subject should form the matter

of a careful and searching investigation. Sales at auctions have revealed the fact that sundry gentlemen had been able to acquire Assyrian slabs from the palaces of Assyrian kings, and as the excavations were carried on by the Government, it is difficult to account for this fact. The public has a right to know how property of this nature came into private hands, and the question must be asked until it is satisfactorily answered. The matter cannot be allowed to rest where it is.

"We have seen that it was stated at the trial that in consequence of Dr. Budge's reports the native agent had been dismissed for his pains. Dr. Budge has been mulcted by the verdict of the law-courts in a sum of something over, we hear, £1,000. Hence arises another point of wide general interest regarding the treatment which should be accorded to confidential reports from subordinate officers to the higher officials. In the case with which we are at present concerned, Dr. Budge reported such things as he considered to be of importance for the information of his superior officers, and it was, one would think, their duty to sift such reports and to act upon them. For some reason or other, as we gather from the evidence of the trial, the Trustees did not act upon them, from which fact Mr. Justice Cave inferred that Dr. Budge was repeating to Sir H. Layard things which the Trustees themselves had considered frivolous and trifling (*The Times*, July 4th). This, however, is no argument at all, for the reasons of the non-action of the Trustees are unknown, and it does not follow that the Trustees regarded them as frivolous and trifling. With the terror of the decision in this case before them, all members of the public service will be in duty bound to consider whether they are able to afford the expenses of an action at law, and the enormous costs which follow in its train, before they report unpleasant truths to their superiors. Who can complain if public servants, rather than incur the penalties of the law, hold back information they are in a position to give? Whether this will be good for the public service remains to be seen.

"Mr. Justive Cave, referring to the depredations around the excavations, is reported to have said (*Standard*, July 4th): 'We all know that if you gave £300 for a cylinder like the one produced, it is an incentive for people to steal. It is like the poachers. They will take your own game if you will buy it of them, or they will take it anywhere they can sell it.' Mr. Justice Cave's facetious remark, however, is scarcely on all fours with the verdict of the jury. He owns that the excavating grounds in question are preserves belonging to the Trustees of the British Museum; yet when a keeper reports in general terms that a large amount of poaching has been going on, he is heavily mulcted for his pains, because an individual chooses to assume that he was meant.

"Here, then, are the facts; we believe that so far no action whatever has been taken by the Trustees; still we are glad to learn from the *Daily News* that Dr. Budge's *confrères* at all events have a sense of public duty. That paper states that 'the keepers of departments and the assistants in the British Museum have combined to present Dr. Budge with a cheque in settlement of his damages in the recent libel action of Rassam *v.* Budge.' It is understood that this is not merely an expression of sympathy with a popular colleague, but that the action of the Museum officers was prompted by a strong feeling that as Dr. Budge has acted throughout in the interests of his department, it would be most unfair to allow him personally to suffer."

[The following appeared in the *Revue Archéologique* IIIième Série—tom. xxii, Paris, 1893, p. 386; the author of the paragraph was Salomon Reinach. "Une dispute entre MM. Budge (du British Museum) et H. Rassam (le successeur de Layard dans les fouilles d'Assyrie) s'est dénouée aux dépens du premier devant les tribunaux anglais; l'assyriologue a été condamné à une amende et aux frais, le tout montant à plus de 25,000 francs! Plusieurs savants sont intervenus pour le tirer d'affaire (*Athenaeum*, vol. ii, 1893, p. 194) et, au grand honneur du public anglais, la somme requise a été souscrite en

quelques mois. Un si bel exemple de solidarité scientifique mérite de ne pas rester inaperçu."]

In reply to the above article Mr. Rassam wrote the following letter which appeared in *Nature*, September 21st, 1893 (vol. xlviii, pp. 508, 509) with editorial comments.

THE THIEVING OF ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES.

"I had hoped that the British Museum slander case, which was decided a few weeks ago at the High Court of Justice, in regard to the calumnies which were circulated against me, would have silenced then and for ever my would-be detractors; but the review of the trial which appeared in the impression of NATURE of the 10th ult., indicates that misrepresentations are still rife, though an English Court of Justice has already sifted the matter, and gave its verdict in my favour.

"2. I must answer your allegations one by one; and I ask you on public grounds to be so good as to insert my reply in the next issue of NATURE.

"3. In the first place you say 'We have not referred to the case earlier, as we had hoped that some action in the public interest would have been taken by the Trustees of the British Museum, which would have carried the matter a stage further. For this action, however, we have waited in vain.'

"4. The above remark plainly shows that you are not aware that I have been appealing for some time past to the trustees for a Court of Inquiry into the alleged robbery of public property, but the British Museum executive authorities persisted in refusing it. If you refer to the fourth day's trial, reported meagrely in the daily journals, you will see that I was the one who felt aggrieved that the alleged robbery of antiquities was not enquired into. The Judge was most explicit on this point, and remarked that in consequence of my representations having been ignored by the British Museum authorities, I was justified in bringing my case before a Law Court.

"5. Then you say, 'From the evidence elicited at the trial it appeared that soon after Mr. Rassam began to dig in Babylonia, collections of tablets found their way into the London market, and these were bought by the British Museum for considerable sums of money.' (*The Times*, July 1st.)

"6. Here you are adverting to a vague evidence which was not established in Court; and if I had been called upon to controvert it, I could have shown then and there the fallacy of it, seeing that the British Museum acquired by purchase, through the late Mr. George Smith, Babylonian antiquities five years before I commenced work in Southern Mesopotamia. As a matter of fact, such antiquities have been obtainable from Armenian and Jewish dealers long before the trustees of the British Museum ever thought of conducting researches in these parts. Even I, myself, purchased a collection of tablets at Baghdad for the British Museum in 1877, long before I commenced work there, and that was by instructions from the Museum authorities.

"7. Further on you state, 'Now, as no excavations were being carried on except by the British Government, and as the internal evidence of the tablets indicated that those which they received from Mr. Rassam as the result of his works, and those which they purchased had the same origin, it was natural that the public department should begin to grow uneasy. And this feeling became stronger when it was found that the tablets purchased were of much greater value archæologically and historically than those which arrived at the British Museum from Mr. Rassam.'

"8. The whole of the above assertions are contrary to known facts and the evidence which was adduced before the Court. Excavations by the Arabs have been carried on in Babylonia from time immemorial, and as the land belongs to subjects of the Sultan, and not to the British Government, I do not know by what right you think that the British Museum can prevent others from digging and from selling what they can find to whomsoever they choose.

"9. As for the 'public department' becoming uneasy, it is difficult to understand when and how such an uneasiness began and what caused it. I was always on intimate and friendly terms, as our correspondence shows, with the late Dr. Birch, the head of the Department of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities, until he died in 1885, or three years after my explorations ceased; and I was also in constant communication with the then Principal Librarian, Mr. Bond, until he resigned in 1888, or six years after the stoppage of the British Museum works in Babylonia; and neither he nor Dr. Birch ever made any complaint to me touching the alleged robbery of public property, though I was the only person who could have taken cognisance of the matter.

"10. Then you go on to assert that the feeling of uneasiness became stronger when it was found that the tablets purchased were of much greater value, archæologically and historically, than those sent by me. I am certainly surprised at this remark, seeing that no public inquiry ever took place regarding the value of my discoveries.

"11. Then you go on to say: 'Speaking broadly, it seems from the evidence that Mr. Rassam sent home 134,000 pieces of inscribed clay from Babylonia, and of these more than 125,000 are what Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Maunde Thompson and Dr. Wallis Budge style "rubbish." (*Standard*, June 30th; *The Times*, July 3rd.) This represented the direct return for the outlay. What did go wrong we cannot say, but the outsider will certainly think that something did go wrong in the matter.'

"12. Here again you are asserting what is contrary to facts, as it is known all over Europe that I am the discoverer of Sippara or Sepharvaim, and many temples and palaces in Assyria and Babylonia, from where I sent to the British Museum many valuable collections; and the 134,000 fragments were part and parcel of them. You seem to have overlooked the evidence of one of the best Assyrian scholars who is the Senior Assistant in the Department of Babylonian and Assyrian

Antiquities at the British Museum, as to the value of the fragments.

"13. In regard to Sir Henry Rawlinson saying that the fragments belonging to a certain collection being 'rubbish' it is certainly most startling. As you do not say where this information was obtained from, I take it for granted that it was supplied from the British Museum. Sir Henry Rawlinson would have been the very first man to condemn me if I had allowed any of the fragments to be thrown away, seeing that a mere particle might fit a broken tablet and complete an important text.

"14. Further on you state that, 'The information which he gathered on all these points he sent home to the British Museum in the form of reports, one of the results of which was the dismissal of the native agent. On two subsequent occasions Dr. Budge visited Assyria and Babylonia, and carried on excavations for the trustees, and he acquired some thousands of tablets.'

"15. It is very extraordinary that the official report you quote above was withheld by the British Museum authorities from being produced in Court as a privileged document, because it contained matters which would be prejudicial to the public service, and yet a part of its contents is now revealed in NATURE.

"16. In continuation of the above remarks you go on to say, 'It will easily be guessed that from first to last a very considerable sum of public money, amounting to tens of thousands of pounds, has thus been spent upon excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, and the question naturally arises, "Has this money been spent judiciously, and has the nation obtained what it had a right to expect in return for its money?"'

"17. I have no hesitation, in answer to the above remark, to say that my greatest desire is that the public *should insist* upon an open Court of Inquiry into the manner the British Museum executive authorities have carried on lately their Assyrian and Babylonian archæological researches, and find out whether the enormous amount was spent 'judiciously' by the different agents they have employed.

"18. You further say, 'Sales at auctions have revealed the fact that sundry gentlemen had been able to acquire Assyrian slabs from the palaces of Assyrian kings, and as the excavations were carried on by the Government it is difficult to account for this fact. The public has a right to know how property of this nature came into private hands, and the question must be asked until it is satisfactorily answered. The matter cannot be allowed to rest where it is.'

"19. I do not know what you mean by 'Assyrian slabs' having been acquired by purchase, as I know of no such sale having taken place in England or elsewhere. I am the only explorer, after M. Botta and Sir Henry Layard, who discovered 'Assyrian slabs' or bas-reliefs, but that was thirty-eight years ago; and as there have been no sculptured slabs discovered in Babylonia, it is difficult to know what is to be understood by such an assertion. I do certainly agree with you that the matter ought not to be allowed to rest, but that the public should insist upon a thorough examination into the matter.

"20. In conclusion, I must touch upon one more point, which appeared near the end of the criticism under discussion. About the duty of public servants to their superiors you say, 'With the terror of the decision in this case before them, all members of the public service will be in duty bound to consider whether they are able to afford the expenses of an action at law, and the enormous costs which follow in its train, before they report unpleasant truths to their superiors.'

"21. It will be indeed a sad day for an old public servant, who has spent the best part of his life in the service of his adopted country and held with undiminished confidence important appointments of trust under the Crown, to be debarred from obtaining justice elsewhere when it is denied him by the department under which he served with honour, credit and success for many a year, when his character is unjustifiably assailed. (Signed) H. RASSAM."

The editorial remarks were as follows :

" [We are much surprised that Mr. Rassam has taken our article as personal to himself, as we dealt with the thefts in question only from a public point of view, and they might have happened, we suppose, if Mr. Rassam had never existed.

" We make the following comments on some of his paragraphs :

" *Para.* 4. We were not aware that Mr. Rassam had been appealing for a Court of Inquiry. There is no doubt that cause has been shown for a Treasury inquiry in the interests of the public and future explorers, and we hope it will be pressed for.

" *Para.* 6. It was no part of our duty to *sift* the evidence. The point is that evidence was given (see *Pall Mall Gazette*, June 30th). Did not the British Museum accountant go into the witness box to state the amount paid for tablets and was not the evidence dispensed with because Dr. Budge's ' vague ' evidence was accepted as sufficient ?

" *Paras. 7 and* 8. We referred to the evidence given in Court. What else could we do ? It was not disproved in Court, or we should have said so.

" *Para.* 9. This is a statement with which only the Trustees of the British Museum can deal. We, of course, are bound to accept Mr. Rassam's statement as he makes it.

" *Para.* 10. We do not quite seize the point of Mr. Rassam's remark here. The statement as to the greater value of the tablets *not* received from him was made by the defendant ; it is not ours.

" *Paras.* 11 *and* 12. We can only repeat that the public is interested in knowing that of 134,000 pieces of inscribed clay sent home from Babylonia—it really does not matter by whom—125,000 have been termed rubbish by Sir H. Rawlinson, one of the trustees, the principal librarian and the present keeper of the collection. It was not necessary to refer to any subordinate official, or to point out the singular fact that he gave evidence contrary to that of three of his official superiors.

"*Para.* 13. We quite agree that it is most startling to hear that, in Sir Henry Rawlinson's opinion, so much of what Mr. Rassam sent home was rubbish. We presume that Mr. Rassam was startled when Sir Henry Rawlinson's deposition was read in Court; that is the reason, perhaps, that he forgot it, as he appears to have done.

"*Para.* 15. Dr. Budge's reports could not be revealed by us because we do not possess them, and have never seen them. All the facts stated were given in evidence to which alone we professed to refer.

"*Para.* 17. Here we cordially agree with Mr. Rassam; as before stated, in our opinion a Treasury inquiry into the expenditure of the public funds on, and the method of carrying out, excavations in the region in question since, say, 1846, is most desirable.

"*Paras.* 18 *and* 19. The article was not written by an expert, and perhaps the word 'bas-relief' would have been better than 'slab.' But there is no doubt about what we mean. Murray's 'Handbook to Dorsetshire' informs us that at Canford Hall 'a gallery connected with the house by a cloister is devoted to a series of Assyrian sculptures brought from Nineveh.' These sculptures—not to call them slabs—are described as 'winged lions and bulls, bas-reliefs, etc., similar to those in the British Museum.' Now, if there are many such galleries in England, and the objects were obtained at a low price, the whole question of excavation at the public expense is raised.—ED. NATURE."]

A fortnight later Mr. Rassam addressed a second letter to the Editor of NATURE, and this, also with editorial remarks, duly appeared in the issue for October 5th (vol. xlviii, p. 540); it runs thus:

THE THIEVING OF ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES.

"1. Had I known that after having dissected my reply to the article entitled, 'Thieving of Assyrian Antiquities,' which appeared in NATURE of the 10th ultimo, you had intended to add further objectionable

remarks to it, I should have certainly declined to have had it published.

"2. You seem, even now, to ignore the judgment of the High Court of Justice in the slander case of 'Rassam *v.* Budge,' and volunteer your own version of the story with which you have been supplied.

"3. May I ask where you have found it reported about the evidence of the British Museum accountant and Sir Henry Rawlinson's deposition regarding the fragments of the national collection? If you have obtained your information from the latter's deposition that was certainly not revealed in the Press, and if it was supplied you by men who had no business to do so, then in fairness you ought to have quoted the other parts of the evidence. As for the 'accountant,' no paper reported what the Principal Librarian wanted him to say, and that was for a very good reason, because the Judge did not consider his evidence of any use, seeing that no one had disputed the purchase by the authorities of the British Museum, of Babylonian antiquities before I began my researches in Southern Mesopotamia, at the time when I was there and afterwards.

"4. With regard to the cock-and-bull story about the bas-reliefs which are alleged to be at 'Comford Hall,' if you had said in your article, above referred to, that they *existed* in a private house in England, *instead of asserting that they were obtained by purchase*, I would have surprised you with further revelations that such 'slabs' do exist in other houses in England, and in different parts of Europe and America. Even half of the sculptures I had discovered in Ashur-bani-pal's palace in 1853, belonging legitimately to the national collection, have been squandered, and parts of them are now in the bottom of the Tigris.

"5. As you seem to have allowed yourself to be imposed upon by malicious men who are not brave enough to put their names to the information with which they have supplied you, I must now close my correspondence, as it seems to me that your journal is not a proper channel through which justice can be obtained.—(Signed) H. RASSAM."

The editorial comment on Mr. Rassam's second letter was as follows :

[" The above letter calls for some additional 'remarks.' We trust Mr. Rassam will find them less 'objectionable' than the former ones.

" 1. The dissection to which reference is made consisted only of omission of personal attacks, not even courteously worded, which moreover had nothing to do with the question of importance to the public.

" 2. Mr. Rassam is not happy in his expressions. Nothing was stated in our article which was not openly stated in Court.

" 3. He is still less happy here. In his last letter he wished to make our readers believe that Sir H. Rawlinson's opinion on the 'rubbish' Mr. Rassam had sent home was not stated in Court, and had been obtained by us in some improper way from the British Museum. In our 'objectionable remarks,' we charitably suggested that he had *forgotten* Sir H. Rawlinson's deposition containing this opinion was read in Court. It now seems that Mr. Rassam had not forgotten it in the least.

" With regard to the accountant, the counsel for the defendant did say what the accountant was to prove, and the Editor does not see what the Principal Librarian had to do with it.

" 4. Why does Mr. Rassam take the trouble to misquote us by writing 'Comford' instead of 'Canford,' and then to put his misquotation in inverted commas? The 'story of a cock and bull,' which we took from one edition of Murray's 'Guide' is repeated in more detail in a later one, and even the name of the donor is mentioned, Sir A. H. Layard.

" The more 'revelations' Mr. Rassam can supply, the more he can show that property 'belonging *legitimately* (the italics are Mr. Rassam's) to the national collection' has been squandered, the more reason there is for the inquiry to which we have pointed.

" 5. Requires no comment except that not a single inaccuracy on our part has been established.—ED. NATURE."]

MISSIONS TO EGYPT.

1892–1913.

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Missions to Egypt, the Sûdân, and the Great Oasis, 1892–1913.

In January, 1892, I was, as already mentioned (p. 300), appointed Acting Assistant-Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. In addition to my ordinary duties as an Assistant, I then had to give much time each day to a general re-arrangement of the collections in accordance with the scheme prescribed by the Trustees,[1] and it was only with great difficulty that in October I got away to Egypt for a few weeks and secured some valuable antiquities. When I was made Keeper of the Department in February, 1894, I realized to my great regret that I should have to abandon all hope of repeating my visits to Mesopotamia. As the journey to Egypt and back only took about half the time that would be required to reach Môṣul or Baghdâd, the Trustees found it possible to

[1] The Trustees decided to make a lecture room in the Assyrian Basement, and to obtain the necessary floor space they ordered the sculptures of Sennacherib to be removed to the floor above, and the pavement and the sculptures of the Lion Hunt from Ashur-bani-pal's palace to be built into the main walls, just above the new iron gallery that had recently been constructed. They also ordered the room in which students kept their easels and drawing boards and the Phœnician Room to be made into one, and a new roof and skylight to be built. All the Phœnician antiquities were removed to the Second Northern Gallery upstairs, and thus there was plenty of wall space for the sculptures of Sennacherib, including the Siege of Lachish, and for a very valuable series of sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III. These last-named sculptures consisted of: (1) Slab with a cuneiform inscription in huge characters, recording the conquests of the king; (2) bas-relief representing the capture of the gods of the enemy; (3) bas-relief with a figure of the king in the act of receiving the submission of the enemy. These bas-reliefs (which came originally from the ruins of the palace of Tiglath-Pileser III at Nimrûd) had found their way into a public institution at Bristol, where they had been built into a wall and whitewashed. The Trustees acquired them in 1890.

send me on further missions to Egypt, without any serious dislocation of my ordinary duties. Accordingly I paid several further visits to Egypt, and when time was limited and matters were urgent I have travelled from London to the First Cataract and back again to London in the space of three weeks. Between 1891 and 1913 I visited Egypt on the business of the Trustees thirteen times.

I was most anxious to return to Môṣul and its neighbourhood, where many valuable manuscripts awaited me, and to Baghdâd and Ḥillah, from which places I had received many letters from natives imploring me to come quickly and make my selection from the many tablets and cylinder-seals which they said they had collected for me. But in fact there was little necessity for me to go to Mesopotamia so far as Babylonian antiquities were concerned, for the arrangements which I had made with the dealers in Baghdâd and the natives of the Lower Euphrates were working satisfactorily, and were then producing quite as large a supply of tablets and other antiquities as the annual grants of public money to the Trustees would enable them to purchase for some years to come.

In the summer of 1892 the Trustees decided to increase the various sections of the Egyptian Collection, and to fill up the gaps in them as completely as possible. They therefore instructed me to make arrangements to go to Egypt from time to time to report on the collections that were available for purchase, and to make selections from them, and to follow up the enquiries concerning certain manuscripts from the Nitrian Desert which I had begun to make in previous years. It was important that every collection should be examined before it was dispatched to England, because many modern imitations or forgeries of all sorts and kinds were already on the market.[1] It would have been, of course, quite

[1] At that period spurious antiquities were practically unknown in Mesopotamia, or at least there were no such imitations in the market there as would deceive an experienced eye. It is true that soon after 1882 the natives at Kâzimên began to make tolerably good casts—

easy to send all forgeries back to the dealers in Egypt, but if that method had been followed, the dealers would have suffered considerable pecuniary loss, and it was very important not to discourage them when they were ready and wishful to send their antiquities direct to the Museum. Antiquities (and even modern imitations, if values had been assigned to them), when imported into Egypt had to pay an 8 per cent. *ad valorem* duty, and all goods returned to Egypt, of whatever class, were liable to this duty in common with ordinary imports. It was open to a dealer to declare that a modern imitation which had been returned to him was worthless, and to allow the Customs to sell it for what it would fetch, but such a proceeding would injure his reputation. There was also another serious risk for the dealer, *i.e.*, confiscation by the Service of Antiquities, followed by prosecutions for illegal possession. In short, no dealer would send his antiquities to England if there was the least chance of any of them being returned to him.

In the early "nineties" few people in England who had not been in Egypt had the least idea of the skill which some of the natives had acquired in the forging of antiquities, and it may not be out of place to add here a few words on the subject. Some of the forgeries were

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to all appearance—of small contract tablets. But as they did not understand the art of casting "in the round" they could not reproduce the inscriptions on the rounded edges of the originals; and therefore their casts lacked the kings' names and the dates and the ends of the lines that often ran over the right-hand edges of the originals. The plan they followed was to cast each side of the tablet separately, and then to stick the obverse and the reverse together, and "make up" the edges with clay; but the place where they joined could be easily detected, and on the insertion of a penknife the two sections came apart, as I pointed out in a short letter to the *Athenaeum* many years ago. The re-cutting of ancient cylinder-seals and the forging of inscriptions in hard stone did not begin till some years later. In 1891 I was shown in Baghdâd several forged inscriptions on clay, which had been made by a youth in the French School there. He used a small, blunt, three-sided piece of hard wood to form the wedges of the clay, and with practice would have become an expert scribe.

clumsy, *e.g.*, the "faked" mummies, and deceived no one who had any knowledge of Egyptian archæology, and the same may be said of the "rolls of papyri"—though many people bought them—which were composed of bits of genuine papyri glued together, and covered over with a sheet of genuine papyrus. There were men in several parts of Egypt who made first-rate copies in black basalt of the funerary statues and bowls of the VIth and XIIth dynasties, and as long as they limited themselves to cutting upon them short well-known funerary formulæ, they succeeded in selling them to collectors of some experience. But whenever they attempted to reproduce a long inscription they *always* made some silly mistake in the form or direction of some character, and so betrayed themselves. In Upper Egypt the natives made very good and life-like copies of funerary statues in wood, and as the wood from which they were fashioned came from genuine broken ka-figures in the tombs, and from beams and planks of sarcophagi, in an uncertain light it was extremely difficult to detect the imposture. In Alexandria the native jewellers made excellent castings in gold, silver and bronze from the ancient terra-cotta moulds for figures of gods, sacred animals, amulets, etc., which had been found in the ruins. Some of their casts of ancient gold rings were indistinguishable from the originals, and at Ḳanâ I have seen gold castings of handles for flint knives, on which the "bloom" and colour of gold which has lain in the ground for centuries were reproduced in most marvellous fashion. The trade in forged scarabs was very large, and in their making Europeans as well as natives showed great skill. I knew a native who lived near Luxor and made really fine imitations of scarabs of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties. He took great pains with his work, and sometimes he would make dozens of copies of a particular scarab before he produced one which satisfied him. He used genuine Egyptian steatite (which he had brought from a certain hill whence the ancient Egyptian workmen obtained their supply), and the glaze with which he covered his

scarabs was made of the beautiful greenish-blue, or bluish-green, glaze which he obtained from pounding up the genuine glazed bugle beads from the coverings of mummies. As one English archæologist supplied him with a carefully written list of the cartouches of the principal Egyptian kings, and another sent to him from England a small portable furnace and crucibles, he was able to supply tourists with good selections of "royal scarabs" for several years.

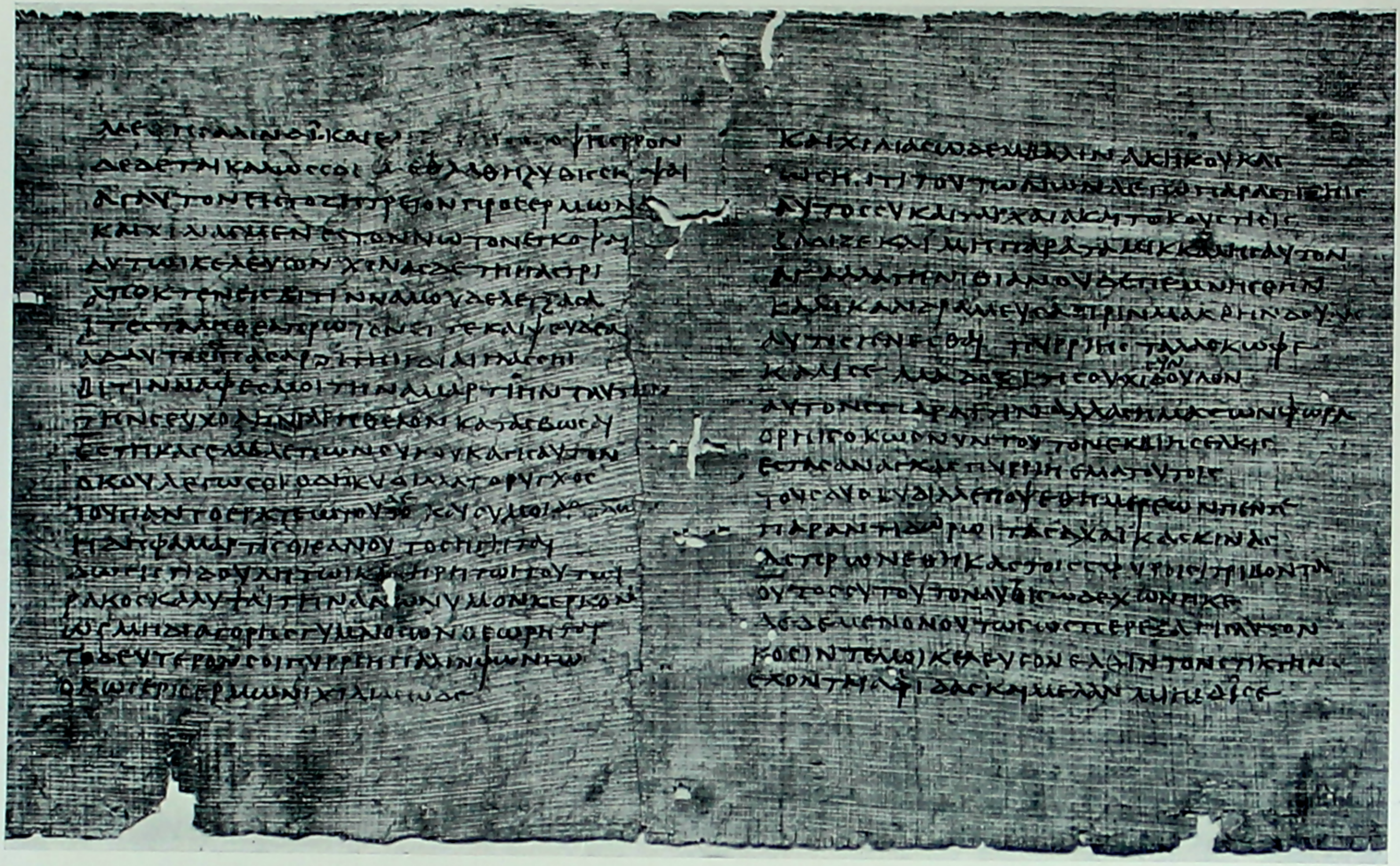
When he died, some years ago, a friend came to me on behalf of his widow, and asked me what she should do with her husband's collection of scarabs and other antiquities. I went with him and looked at them, and found among them several genuine scarabs which had served as models for him, several hundreds of "royal scarabs," some finished, but many unfinished, several moulds (a few of them ancient) for making casts of paste scarabs, moulds for making casts of rings in gold, and about half a dozen large green basalt scarabs, on which the deceased had been trying to cut the hieroglyphic text of Chapter XXXB. of the Book of the Dead. Most interesting of all was a series of large green glazed steatite scarabs, with their bases inscribed and covered with gold leaf. Each was mounted in a framework of gilded copper, upon which was fastened a ring, to which a chain could be attached. When we looked at the inscriptions on the bases of the scarabs we found that they consisted of the prenomens, nomens and titles of all the great kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties. Among them I saw duplicates of a scarab of Thothmes III in the British Museum (No. 18,190) and of a scarab of somewhat similar shape and form at Cambridge, and I am now convinced that both of these are forgeries. Of course, it was out of the question to buy any of these for the British Museum, though they would have been very valuable as specimens of the art of the forger of Egyptian antiquities, and it was equally impossible to allow these clever forgeries to get into the hands of the dealers. I therefore went and talked the matter over with Maspero, who, with

characteristic good sense and kindness, obtained a grant of money for the widow, and took over all the forged antiquities for the Egyptian Museum. He described them as "most instructive and informing."[1]

But to return to my visits to Egypt. My acquisition of the Aristotle papyrus and the Herodas papyrus, to say nothing of the papyrus of Ani and the Tall al-'Amârnah tablets, stirred up great general interest in excavations in Egypt. As there was reason for assuming that other literary treasures still remained in that country, I was instructed to set out for Egypt early in October, 1892, and to arrange with the dealers for a regular supply of Egyptian and Coptic antiquities, and to acquire Greek and Coptic papyri and manuscripts of all kinds. When I arrived in Egypt I was cordially welcomed by all the native dealers, and I found one and all very willing to enter into negotiations with the Trustees. They had discovered during the four previous years that the prices at which I had agreed to recommend their collections for purchase to the Trustees were paid to them without any deduction for "commission," and that there was no middleman to be paid by them in any shape or form. Moreover, they were all greatly impressed by the fact that the Trustees not only could and did buy collections of Egyptian antiquities annually, but that they had sufficient funds at their disposal to buy all kinds of antiquities, Egyptian, Coptic, Greek, Roman, etc. The result of this was that they showed me everything that they had then in their possession, and they promised to let me see whatever came into their hands, and they did so for many years, and behaved well to

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[1] This is a very good example of Maspero's "patriarchal" policy in dealing with the natives. He got possession of a collection of forgeries for which the dealers would willingly have paid good prices, and kept them out of the antiquity market, and at the same time gained a reputation for treating the natives with kindness and generosity. In a similar way, when Beato, the eminent photographer, died at Luxor, Maspero acquired all his negatives at a reasonable price, and stored them in the Egyptian Museum. These negatives are most valuable, for they show us the sites and monuments of Upper Egypt and Nubia as they were in the "seventies" and "eighties."



Two columns of the Greek text of the Mimes of Herodas.
Brit. Mus., Pap. No. 135, cols. 26 and 27.

To face p. 326, vol. ii.

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me, and I acquired many valuable historical objects for the Museum.

My success in dealing with the natives displeased several of my friends among the European collectors, and there were not wanting among them some who explained it to their own satisfaction by saying that I financed some of the excavations which the natives made under an arrangement with the Service of Antiquities. They further said that I treated the natives unfairly by seizing (for the Trustees) all the best of the objects found by them, and that I made a large profit personally on my transactions with them. This was most uncomplimentary to the natives, who, as is very well known by everyone who has had dealings with them, are exceedingly clever in protecting their own interests. The truth of the matter is that the natives tried to treat me as they treated everyone else, and when they found that it did not pay, they altered their plans and began to trust me. Many of my early negotiations with them broke down, and I often failed to secure valuable objects which they had in their possession because the prices which I offered were not sufficiently high to induce them to sell. In such cases I knew well that they were acting foolishly in refusing my offers, which were always reasonable, and I was often very angry when I spent time and money in vain. But it seemed to me that they had a perfect right to get the highest prices they could for their antiquities, so I stifled my wrath and held my peace. I did not go back to Cairo and denounce so and so to the officials of the Service of Antiquities, and tell them what I had seen, and urge them to set in motion the laws which concerned illegal possession of antiquities, and help them to confiscate the goods. But this is exactly what certain agents for European Museums did, and then the Service of Antiquities set the telegraph to work, and the local police would swoop down on the shop or house of the dealer whose name had been reported, and seize everything in the nature of antiquities which they found there, and take them to Cairo forthwith, where they

were finally confiscated. It did not take the dealers long to connect cause and effect, and when such agents had produced this effect two or three times, they found that, though the dealers professed themselves anxious to do business with them, there was nothing to buy in their shops. It only took a couple of winters to teach the dealers that the Trustees of the British Museum always paid fair prices for their purchases, and that they did not expect their servant to deprive a native of the last piastre of his profit. The results obtained showed that their policy was the right one, for, from one end of Egypt to the other, every dealer I met showed me his possessions fearlessly.

When I arrived in Cairo in October, 1892, I found all the natives who were interested in antiquities in a great state of excitement because of the rumoured resignation of M. E. Grébaut, Director of the Service of Antiquities. When it turned out that rumour was correct great satisfaction was felt and expressed by everyone; they hoped that Maspero would return to Cairo and resume his duties as Director of the Service of Antiquities. Maspero was greatly liked by the natives, both in Upper and Lower Egypt. Many archæologists said that his direction was "no direction at all," and that as for "systematic policy, he had none," yet no fair-minded person can deny that from first to last he did more for the Egyptian Museum in Cairo than any other Director except Mariette, its founder and his own great master. Maspero himself described his system of dealing with the natives as "patriarchal" in character, and it was. He petted, scolded, cursed and punished the native dealers on both sides of the river when he thought it necessary to do so, and the effect was good, for he got what he wanted for his Museum, and the natives were on the whole quite satisfied with his decisions. It was only towards the close of his second Directorate, when his health began to fail after a residence of twenty-seven years in Egypt, that his firmness wavered, and his subordinates both inside and outside the Museum persuaded him to do, and to let them do,

things which ought never to have been done. But Maspero did not return to Egypt in 1892, and Grébaut was succeeded by J. de Morgan, the eminent civil engineer, mathematician and archæologist, who set to work with a will to undo as much as possible of the mischief which Grébaut had done during the years of his rule (1886–92). He used the great powers which the Director of the Service of Antiquities possessed with discretion and tact, and he proved that it was possible to safeguard the interests of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, and of Egyptian Archæology in general, without robbing or persecuting the natives, or causing his own name to be cursed everywhere from Alexandria to Wâdî Ḥalfah.

M. de Morgan's previous experience in dealing with Orientals in Persia and other oriental countries enabled him to conclude a "give and take" arrangement with the native diggers for antiquities and dealers. He paid natives well when they supplied him with the information that led him to a site which yielded good results. The native seekers after antiquities always have known, and always will know, more about the places where antiquities are to be found than European archæologists, however greatly they be skilled in Egyptology. All the truly great "finds" in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia have been made by the natives, or through information which they have supplied; de Morgan was well acquainted with this fact, and he acted accordingly. And he would not permit the valuable objects which the natives brought to the Museum for his inspection to be confiscated, according to the policy of his predecessor, and he prevented the officials in his service from raiding by night the houses of men who were suspected of possessing antiquities. In these and many other ways he completely reversed Grébaut's policy. Between 1886 and 1892 the officials of the Service of Antiquities would neither dig, nor permit the natives to do so if they could help it, though they were very ready to seize any objects they found in their shops and carry them off without payment. Here the reader

may ask, "What about Grébaut's magnificent 'find' of the coffins and mummies of some of the priests of Ámen-Rā in 1891?" It is quite true that Grébaut cleared out the tombs near Dêr al-Baḥarî, where they were hidden in ancient days, but he was led to these tombs by natives; they had discovered them, and only showed them to him on payment.

As soon as possible I had an interview with de Morgan, and I found him courteous, sympathetic and broad-minded. He told me that he had not the least objection to the exportation of certain classes of antiquities (*e.g.*, Greek papyri and inscriptions, Coptic papyri and vellum manuscripts and funerary inscriptions), always provided that they immediately found safe and secure deposit in great national museums like the Louvre and the British Museum. He disliked the idea of breaking up "finds" and sending the objects to places throughout the world where all trace of them would be lost. He wanted all the great museums in Europe to acquire all they possibly could, whilst the British occupied Egypt, for he had no belief in the purely native direction, management or custody of the collections in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. He told me that he thought it impossible to prevent clandestine digging for antiquities by the natives, and the smuggling of antiquities out of Egypt, for it was rumoured that the representatives in Egypt of certain Powers sent antiquities home in their Foreign Office bags. But he believed that it was possible to control the digging and to make the smuggling of antiquities unprofitable, and the plan by which he hoped to do this was as follows: He proposed to employ the staff of the Service of Antiquities in making excavations on a large scale on all the promising sites throughout the country, one after the other, and to transport all the objects found, both big and little, to the Museum in Cairo. Every unique object, of every kind, was to be reserved for the Museum in Cairo, and kept in the country, and these were to be registered and numbered and exhibited to the public as soon as possible. The remaining objects were to be carefully catalogued and

priced, and the catalogue was to be printed and copies of it were to be sent to the Directors of National Museums and Libraries in Europe and America. He thought it probable that the directors of all museums maintained by grants of public money would prefer to spend their money in purchasing antiquities direct from the Museum in Cairo, especially as all difficulty about the exportation of their purchases would cease to exist. In this way museums would be able to obtain a regular supply of Egyptian antiquities at reasonable prices, and the Service of Antiquities could use the moneys received from their sales of antiquities in carrying on further excavations. The scheme seemed to me admirable so far as the interests of Egyptology were concerned, but I was told, soon after the attempt was made to obtain the authority necessary to give it effect, that it met with invincible opposition on all sides, and that every dealer, both European and native, denounced it. It was regarded as a specious attempt on the part of the Government to monopolize the trade in "anticas," and to kill all private dealing in them, and the Egyptians were furious.

After my interview with de Morgan I found it easier to make arrangements with the natives to carry out the plan I had in view, that is to say, to carry out excavations on the site of the old cemetery near Meir, where I obtained the Aristotle Papyrus. There was a great deal of clearing work to be done there in the places untouched by the natives, and, as they could not afford to risk their money on such work, I agreed to add a certain percentage to the prices which I would pay for the objects I bought from them. I set out with my friends for Mallawî as soon as possible, and we crossed the river and made our way to the cemetery, which we reached in a couple of days. After I examined the tombs which they had dug out since I was last there, we settled upon the places which were to be cleared, and we ratified the agreement we made in Cairo, and my friends swore to keep for me every scrap of Greek papyrus they might find. I stayed and watched the

clearance of the easier part of the site, and we found a good many small Greek papyri, many of them dated, and I sent them home to the British Museum.

Telling my friends to continue the clearing I left the cemetery, and, still keeping to the east bank of the river, I went with a couple of natives to several small sites in the hills just opposite Dêrût. When I had seen most of the objects which had been found in the district I arranged with the local dealers to make a few experimental excavations in the neighbourhood. From one tomb alone we obtained enough antiquities to justify the cost of clearing out all we opened. Crossing over to Dêrût, I went on to Sûhâg, and spent three days in examining several burials of the Roman Period in tombs that had been hewn during the New Empire in the hills which lay to the west of the Red Monastery and the White Monastery. We succeeded in entering several of these tombs, and I saw many heaps of mummies and several varieties of funerary furniture and equipment for mummies which were new to me. I made a list of the things—coffins, wooden figures, shrouds, etc.—which I wanted for the British Museum, and left it with my friends, who undertook to clear a passage to the tombs and to bring the objects I had selected to Cairo when opportunity permitted. I wanted to have two or three specimens of the mummies to add to our collection, but the local natives would not agree to this. They were quite willing for me to have the outer wrappings, on which were painted inscriptions and figures of the gods, but they insisted on keeping the mummies, so that they might unroll them at leisure. When I pressed them to tell me why they would not sell me the mummies, they said that they often found large gold and silver rings on the fingers of the mummies of men, and gold necklaces on the mummies of women. The bodies of several of these late mummies were filled, not with spices or bitumen, but with fine white plaster made of lime. As they needed lime for their fields, they used to break up both plaster and mummies, and use it as a sort of top dressing. It seemed a very horrible thing to do, but as it was the

demand of the archæologist that caused these people to ransack the Roman burials, I felt that remonstrance on my part would be ludicrous.

On our way back to the river my friends took me to see the ruins of a small building which lay close to the Monastery of the famous monk Shenûti,[1] or the White Monastery. Very little of its walls remained above ground, but that little showed that its walls had been very strongly built. Where a clearance below the level of the ground had been made I saw several tablets affixed to the walls, and they had Coptic inscriptions on them, which seemed to date from the eighth century of our Era. For what purpose the building had been used I could not make out, but the natives who took me to the ruins told me that they had found there Coptic crosses in iron, bronze and wood, and earthenware lamps with figures of frogs upon them.[2] They assured me that there were many *antiḳât Naṣrânî*, or "Christian antiquities," under the ruins, and asked me to join with them in the expense of clearing the little building down to its foundations. As I had been told categorically that Coptic antiquities would not be claimed by the Service of Antiquities, I agreed to the proposal of the natives, and told them that I expected them to find me something very good in return for the outlay.

From Sûhâg I rode to Balyanâ, and on my way I passed through several villages, where I saw many earthenware vessels, jars, pots, saucers, bowls, etc., flat green stone figures of animals, unpierced beads, etc. In material, shape and decoration many of these vessels resembled the pots and bowls of a small series of objects which the British Museum acquired in 1891. No doubt as to their genuineness could be entertained

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[1] Born A.D. 333, died at midday July 2nd, A.D. 451, aged 118 years!

[2] The frog was a symbol of re-birth or new birth, and the early Christians associated it with their belief in resurrection. As to the little tree frogs which appear in the Sûdân a day or two before the rise of the Nile, see my *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. 281.

for a moment, and I secured all that were offered to me, and I told the sellers to collect everything of the kind they could, and hold them for me until I returned. Near Al-'Amrah I bought a group of large and heavy flint slaughtering knives, and a very fine flint spear head, 13½ inches long.[1] I have never seen larger or finer specimens. We now know, thanks to de Morgan's *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1896 and 1897, that all these flints came from the graves of the predynastic Egyptians of the Neolithic Period. These graves were discovered (like most things of value in Egypt) by natives of Upper Egypt in 1889, and when they applied to the Service of Antiquities for permission to dig them out, it was refused. Until de Morgan himself took the matter in hand, and began excavations near Abydos, the Egyptian Government did nothing. When the officials in Cairo saw the objects from these graves, which the natives showed them, they declared them to be "forgeries" and "modern imitations," and thus many priceless antiquities of the Neolithic Period were exported by the European dealers in Cairo, and were lost to Egypt.

Going on to Ḳanâ, I renewed my acquaintance with several dealers, and I found in the town Mr. Chauncey Murch, who introduced me to several of the leading Coptic families, from some of whom I acquired some very interesting objects. Passing up the river by the west bank, I saw at Naḳâdah many earthenware vessels and flints, which the natives told me had been dug up in the neighbourhood within the last two years. They were of the same class as those which I bought near Al-'Amrah. When I reached Western Thebes, the natives told me that they had found some Coptic papyri near the ruins of the old Coptic monastery at Dêr al-Baḥarî, and at Madînat-Habû. As there was a great deal of clearing to be done before we could reach the places where the papyri were hidden, I made an arrangement with the men who knew the sites to undertake this work on the under-

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[1] See *Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 58 ff.

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Ḥarua, an official of Queen Ȧmenȧrṭas, holding figures of the goddesses Hathor and Tefnut. XXVth dynasty.

Brit. Mus., No. 32555.

standing that I had the first offer of everything found there. I then crossed over to Luxor, where I found de Morgan's workmen clearing out the ruins of a small temple which had been built by the Nubian king Kashta and his queen Ȧmenȧrṭas. As the British Museum possessed very few antiquities of the period of the Nubian rule over Thebes, I acquired through the good offices of the overseer of the excavations the unique statue of Ḥarua[1] and the fine alabaster votive vessel bearing the names of Kashta and his queen,[2] and several other objects from the same site. Through the same official I acquired the remarkable coffin of Pen-sensen Ḥeru,[3] the son of the Libyan Shaqshaq and an Egyptian lady, who was probably a priestess. I had now made all the arrangements possible with the natives for a future supply of antiquities, and there was nothing to be done but to await results. I therefore returned to Cairo, and began to discuss with the officials of the Service of Antiquities the possibility of acquiring monuments of the Ancient Empire.

At that time the British Museum possessed very few antiquities belonging to the period of the first six dynasties, and as very few specimens of the bas-reliefs and figures of that time came into the market, it seemed as if we should have to abandon all hope of adding materially to that section of the National Collection. Curiously enough, none of the great collectors of the first half of the nineteenth century, *e.g.*, Belzoni, Salt,[4] Blacas, D'Athanasi, seemed to be interested in acquiring monuments older than those of the XIIth dynasty, and all their collections lacked large good specimens from the măṣṭăbăh-tombs at Ṣaḳḳârah and Gîzah, and from the cemeteries lying to the south of these places. Mariette

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[1] See *Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 102 (No. 32,555).

[2] See *Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, p. 256.

[3] See *Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms*, p. 86 ff. (No. 24,906).

[4] We owe the statue of Betchmes (IIIrd or IVth dyn.) to Salt; (see *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* (*Sculpture*), p. 2.

found out in the early "seventies" that the maṣṭabahs at these places were well known to the natives of the district, and that they had dug down through the filled-up shafts to the sarcophagus chambers. There they had smashed the covers of several of the heavy stone sarcophagi, and broken up the bodies which they found in them, and carried off jewellery, amulets, alabaster head rests and vases, tables for offerings, etc. Mariette took the more expert of these men into his service, and two or three years before his death, with their help, he explored most of the large maṣṭabahs of Gîzah and Ṣaḳḳârah, and began to remove to the Bûlâḳ Museum all the finest of the Ka figures from the *sardâbs*, and the largest and best of the coloured funerary stelæ and "false doors" that were in them. But the illness which finally proved fatal was gaining strength rapidly whilst this work was going on, and he died before it was completed. Unfortunately he took no steps to preserve the chambers of the maṣṭabahs that were above ground, and he left many tombs only partly excavated. Whether this was due to his failing health or to want of funds cannot be said. He spent every piastre he could get in excavations and in the publication of texts, and the sum of money which he could devote to the payment of watchmen was very small.

In 1890, when the Service of Antiquities began to clear and tidy up the cemeteries of Gîzah and Memphis, the antica hunters in the neighbourhood turned their attention to the maṣṭabahs which Mariette had partly explored, and they discovered to their great delight that the large chambers above ground of some of the finest and best of them were in a state of collapse. Mariette had been obliged to remove the sand which covered them, but which had at the same time held the walls in position and preserved them, and when this was done, the walls began to bulge and buckle, and the roofs dropped in, and the massive stelæ and the false doors and their heavy architraves fell and completed the ruin. The natives promptly took advantage of the situation. They carried off all the uninscribed blocks of stone

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The "false" door of the mastabah tomb of Ptah-shepses, high-priest of Memphis, who flourished in the reign of Mycerinus and six or seven of his successors. Vth dynasty.

Brit. Mus., No. 682.

and sold them to the building contractors in Cairo; and they carried away and buried all the inscribed stones, and waited for opportunities to sell them to private collectors and agents of museums like myself. The Service of Antiquities knew quite well what had happened to the maṣṭabahs, and that many of them were in ruins, but they took no steps either to rebuild or repair them, or to protect their ruins. And they made no attempt to stop the stealing of the stones to sell to the builders. Although they loudly denounced the natives of Ṣaḳḳârah and Gîzah for "smashing the maṣṭabahs," they allowed the scandal to go on. I asked an official of the Museum why the authorities did nothing to preserve the maṣṭabahs, and his answer was, "Why should we spend on them the money which we want for other purposes? We have already more false doors and stelæ of the Ancient Empire than we know what to do with here; and we have no room for any more." I was not sorry to hear these words, and I confess that I noted them with great satisfaction, for they banished from my mind my last scruple about acquiring some fine specimens of bas-reliefs, tables for offerings, stelæ and stands for censers of burning incense, etc., from the ruined maṣṭabahs at Ṣaḳḳârah.

I then placed myself in the hands of some of the natives of Gîzah and Ṣaḳḳârah, and I left Cairo and went with them to examine the collections which they had made from the ruined maṣṭabahs. They dug up their treasures from the places in which they had hidden them, and the sight of them was good. Among them there was nothing older than the middle of the IVth dynasty, and nothing more modern than the reign of Pepi II of the VIth dynasty. There were a great many inscribed monuments of the IVth, Vth and VIth dynasties which it was important to have. I made a good selection of unbroken stelæ, etc., and many of them bore the cartouches of Seneferu, Khufu (Cheops), Khāfrā (Chephren), Menkaurā (Mycerinus), Userkaf, Pepi I and Pepi II. From a chronological point of view the most important monument in my selection is the large stone "door" (with

façade) of Ptaḥ-shepses[1] which is 11 feet 6 inches high and 13 feet 6 inches in width. This distinguished official was High Priest of Memphis, and he lived in the reigns of seven or eight kings, *i.e.*, Mycerinus (about B.C. 3630), and the six or seven kings who succeeded him. The text on the façade, which is complete, gives a full list of his titles, and the inscriptions on the frames of the panels of the "door" proper give the names of the kings under whom he lived, and mention the honourable offices which they entrusted to him. Among the bas-reliefs may be mentioned that of Sherà, a priest on the foundation of Senṭ, a king of the IInd dynasty,[2] that of Rā-ḥetep from Mêdûm,[3] and that of Queen Mert-tefs, who flourished during the reigns of Seneferu, Cheops and Chephren.[4] The only portrait figures I was able to obtain were those of Katep and his wife Ḥetepḥeres,[5] who were "royal kinsfolk" and flourished under the IVth dynasty. My selection of monuments of the Ancient Empire was removed to a special place of safety by its owners, and each time I went to Egypt I brought back a portion of it to England until the Trustees had purchased it all. When they decreed the rearrangement of the Egyptian Galleries, they ordered the Vestibule to be devoted to monuments of the Ancient Empire, and there the greater number of the stelæ, false doors, etc., have been built up on its walls. It is the finest collection of monuments of the Early Empire outside Egypt.

During the summer of 1893 and the winter of 1893–94 the natives made good progress in clearing the sites and excavating the ruins mentioned above, and in the autumn of 1894 news reached me from Sûhâg and Western Thebes that they had made some finds of considerable importance near these places. Moreover, the natives of Ṭûnah al-Jabal, about ten miles from Mallawî al-'Arîsh, wrote to me saying that they had found some

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[1] No. 32. See *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* (*Sculpture*), p. 11.
[2] No. 1. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[3] No. 40. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[4] No. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[5] No. 14. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

To face p. 338, *vol. ii.*



Katep, a royal libationer, and Ḥetepḥeres, a royal kinswoman, his wife.
IVth dynasty.

Brit. Mus., No. 1181.

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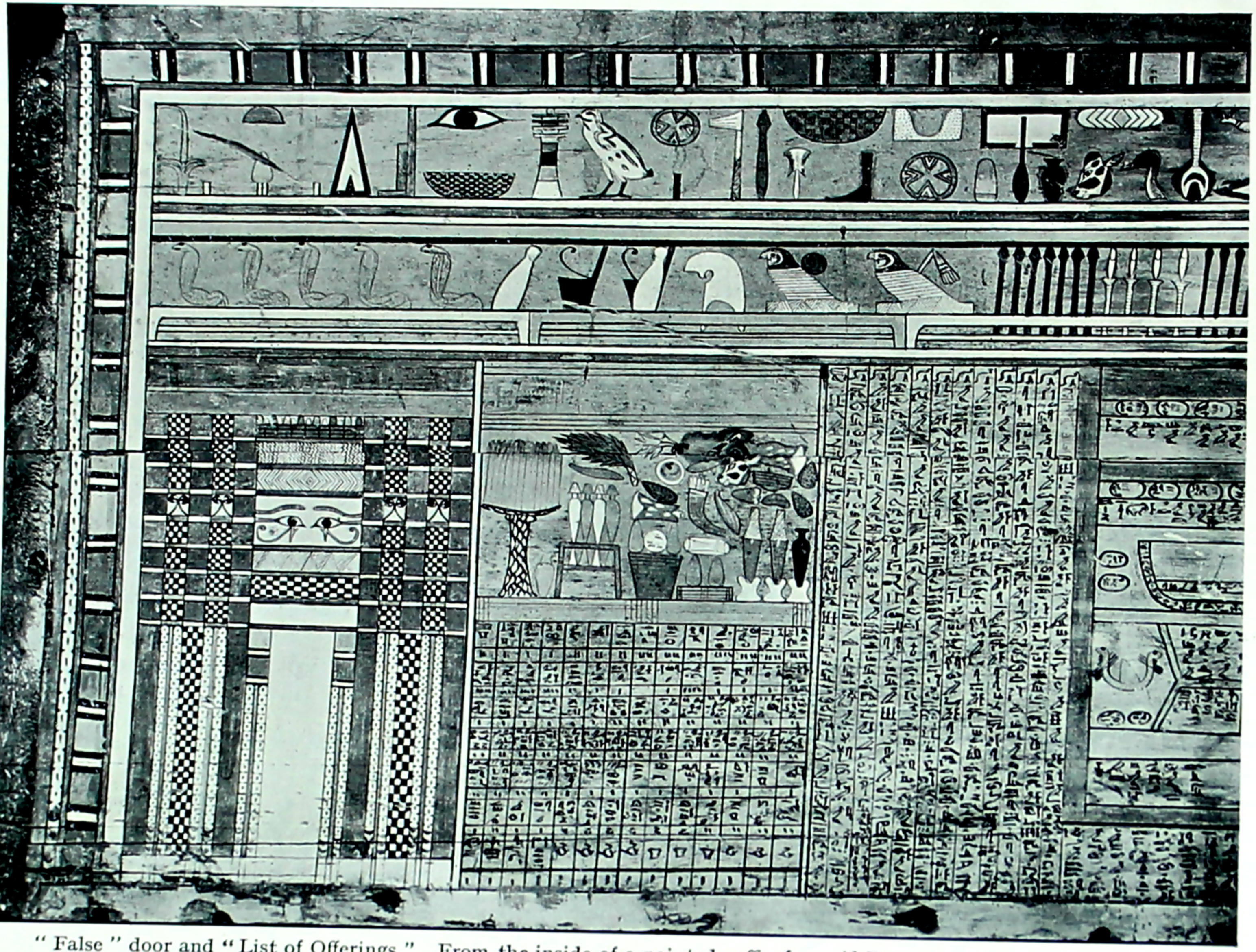
tombs containing a great number of blue glazed faïence figures of gods, bowls, drinking cups of remarkable beauty, and much fine funerary furniture. In the late autumn I was instructed to prepare to go to Egypt early in 1895. Before I left England Lady Meux, of Theobalds Park, informed the Principal Librarian that she wished to enlarge her collection of Egyptian antiquities, and asked him to obtain the permission of the Trustees for me to spend on her behalf £1,000 in purchasing objects which would not be required by the British Museum. The Trustees gave me permission to do this, and I was instructed to bring to the British Museum all the objects which I might buy for her, so that the Principal Librarian might examine this collection before it was despatched to Theobalds Park, and satisfy himself that it did not contain any object which ought to be kept at the Museum[1].

When I arrived in Egypt in January, 1895, I found every dealer in possession of a good supply of antiquities of all kinds. I saw, too, with great satisfaction and relief that the relations between the Director of the Service of Antiquities and the native dealers throughout the country had greatly improved. This was due largely to the fact that de Morgan was reviving Maspero's policy of dealing with the natives between 1883 and 1887. The information which I received on landing was even better than I expected, and I therefore hurried up to Mallawî al-'Arîsh, and spent a few days there in seeing and hearing what had been done in the neighbourhood. The natives *had* made a splendid "find" of blue glazed faïence and funerary furniture at Ṭûnah al-Jabal, and I secured a good selection from the best vases, figures of gods, etc., for the Trustees, and a considerable number of the less fine objects for Lady Meux. I also had the opportunity of making a selection from

[1] The objects I bought for Lady Meux arrived at the British Museum in May, 1895, and were duly examined by the Principal Librarian, who sanctioned their despatch to Theobalds Park. They supplied the material for the second edition of the *Catalogue of the Lady Meux Collection*, which was published in 1896.

a group of the inner coffins of the XIIth dynasty from Al-Barshah, and I availed myself of it with peculiar satisfaction, for the coffins came from a part of the cemetery in the hills which I had insisted on their clearing out. But the information which reached me day by day from the south made it necessary for me to push on to Sûhâg without delay.

When I reached Sûhâg two or three natives met me and said they had been told to bring me out to the White Monastery without delay. I set out with them, and just before we came to the site of the ruins of the little Coptic building, which I have already described (p. 333), several natives came towards me, clapping their hands and singing joyfully; as soon as I saw what they had to show me I felt that they had good cause for rejoicing. I went with them and looked at the places which they had cleared out, and at the eastern end of a kind of deep niche in the outer wall they showed me a rectangular hollow in the ground, the bottom of which was still covered with a very deep layer of bright yellow sand from the Western Desert. In this hollow four ancient Egyptian inscribed stelæ had been placed on their edges sideways, and formed, as it were, the sides of a box, and a larger stele was laid over them and formed a cover, and all the joints were well plastered with lime. In clearing out the place one of the diggers struck the cover with his digging tool, and when he and his friends had broken the plaster and taken it off they found lying in the box formed by the stelæ a parcel tied round with leather thongs in a dressed goat's skin. The thongs were cut (for they could not be untied) and the skin unwrapped, and then the finders saw a bundle rolled up in many thick folds of coarse Akhmîm linen cloth. The contents of this carefully packed parcel were two large books with papyrus leaves, bound in stout leather-covered boards also made of papyrus. Both books were in a perfect state of preservation, and it was clear that they had been packed up together and hidden with deliberation and great care. The layer of sand, the stone coffer formed by the Egyptian stelæ,



"False" door and "List of Offerings." From the inside of a painted coffin from Al-Barshah. *Brit. Mus.*, No. 30840.

To face p. 340, vol. ii.



Column of text from the Coptic Psalter in the dialect of Upper Egypt.
(Psalm CL.)

Brit. Mus., Papyrus Oriental 5000, fol. 152A.

and the mud-brick base in which they were set, all showed that the books were regarded as a priceless treasure. The natives who found the books made one or two attempts to open them, but the leaves were stuck together by the gum in the ink almost in a solid block, and they waited for me to come to tell them how to dry and open the books. This I did, and found that one volume contained a complete copy of the Coptic version of the "Book of the Psalms," ⲡⲥⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̀ ⲛⲉⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ, including the Apocryphal CLIst Psalm, in Sahidic, or the Coptic dialect of Upper Egypt.[1] The other volume contained Coptic translations of a set of Ten Homilies by great Christian Fathers, viz., John, Archbishop of Constantinople, Athanasius, Theophilus, Archbishop [of Alexandria ?], Proclus, Bishop of Cyzicus, Basil of Cæsarea, and the great Eusebius of Cæsarea.[2] Neither native nor European had ever before seen such papyrus volumes, and I took possession of them with great satisfaction. My friends at Sûhâg were overjoyed at their success, and said to me, "If you tell us to dig in the Nile we will do it." From this same site I obtained between the years 1895 and 1907 many valuable Coptic papyri and other documents. Among these may be mentioned: (1) a portion of a large papyrus volume,[3] which (when complete) contained the text of the Coptic version of the Book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus in the dialect of Upper Egypt (1901)—the volume was probably written in the sixth or seventh century of our era[4];

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[1] Now Brit. Mus., MS. Oriental, No. 5000. I edited it under the title of *The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter*, London, 1898. For a technical description of the volume see Crum, W. E., *Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1905, p. 393.

[2] Now Brit. Mus., MS. Oriental, No. 5001. They were edited by me for the Trustees as *Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1910.

[3] Now Brit. Mus., MS. Oriental, No. 5984.

[4] See Crum, *op. cit.*, p. 395. The name of Mr. C. Murch is appended to the descriptions of a great many MSS. in this *Catalogue* as if they were obtained by or from him; but such is not the case. Being a permanent resident in Upper Egypt, Mr. Murch was so kind

(2) 50 folios of the Coptic version of the Pauline Epistles in the dialect of Upper Egypt, from a volume which was written in the fifth or sixth century of our era.[1] (1906).

When I arrived in Western Thebes I found another group of happy natives awaiting me, and almost before we had exchanged greetings they thrust into my hands a kerosene tin full of rolls of leather and papyrus and many large fragments of inscribed papyrus. These were found hidden in a wall in the foundations of the old Coptic monastery near Dêr al-Baḥarî, which I had arranged in 1892 to have cleared out. The tin contained 40 documents, 20 complete and 20 incomplete; their contents were of a legal character, and they were all written in the Coptic dialect of Upper Egypt in the eighth or ninth century. It was the largest haul of this class of legal documents which had ever been made, and the great importance of the texts philologically made them a most valuable addition to the Coptic collection in the British Museum. And this was not the last group of rolls which I obtained from this place. The natives watched it carefully, and from time to time I arranged with them to continue the clearance of it, and in this way I acquired another 43 complete rolls in 1903, 12 more in 1906, 19 more in 1907, and 12 more in 1909, and a very large number of fragments. The contents of these last groups included wills, deeds of sale, documents relating to disputes over inheritances, etc., and the British Museum Collection of Coptic legal papyri and leather rolls is at once the largest and most complete in the world They have been transcribed and edited by Mr. W. E. Crum,[2] who says in his preface :—

" Bis heute ist in der koptischen Literatur keine " zweite Urkundengruppe bekannt geworden, die eine

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as to receive the Treasury warrants which the Trustees sent in payment for their purchases, and he cashed them, and paid the natives, to each the share which was his due.

[1] Now Brit. Mus., MS. Oriental, No. 5989.

[2] *Koptische Rechtsurkunden des achtes Jahrhunderts aus Djéme (Theben) herausgegeben und übersetzt.* Bd. I, Texte und Indices, Leipzig, 1912.



Sepulchral stele of Ȧntef, an official who flourished under the Kings Uaḥ-ānkh-Ȧntef āa, Nekht-neb-tep-nefer-Ȧntef, and Sānkh-ȧb-taui-Menthu-ḥetep. XIth dynasty.

Brit. Mus., No. 1203.

To face p. 342, vol. ii. (see note 1).

To face p. 343, *vol. ii.* (*see note* 1).

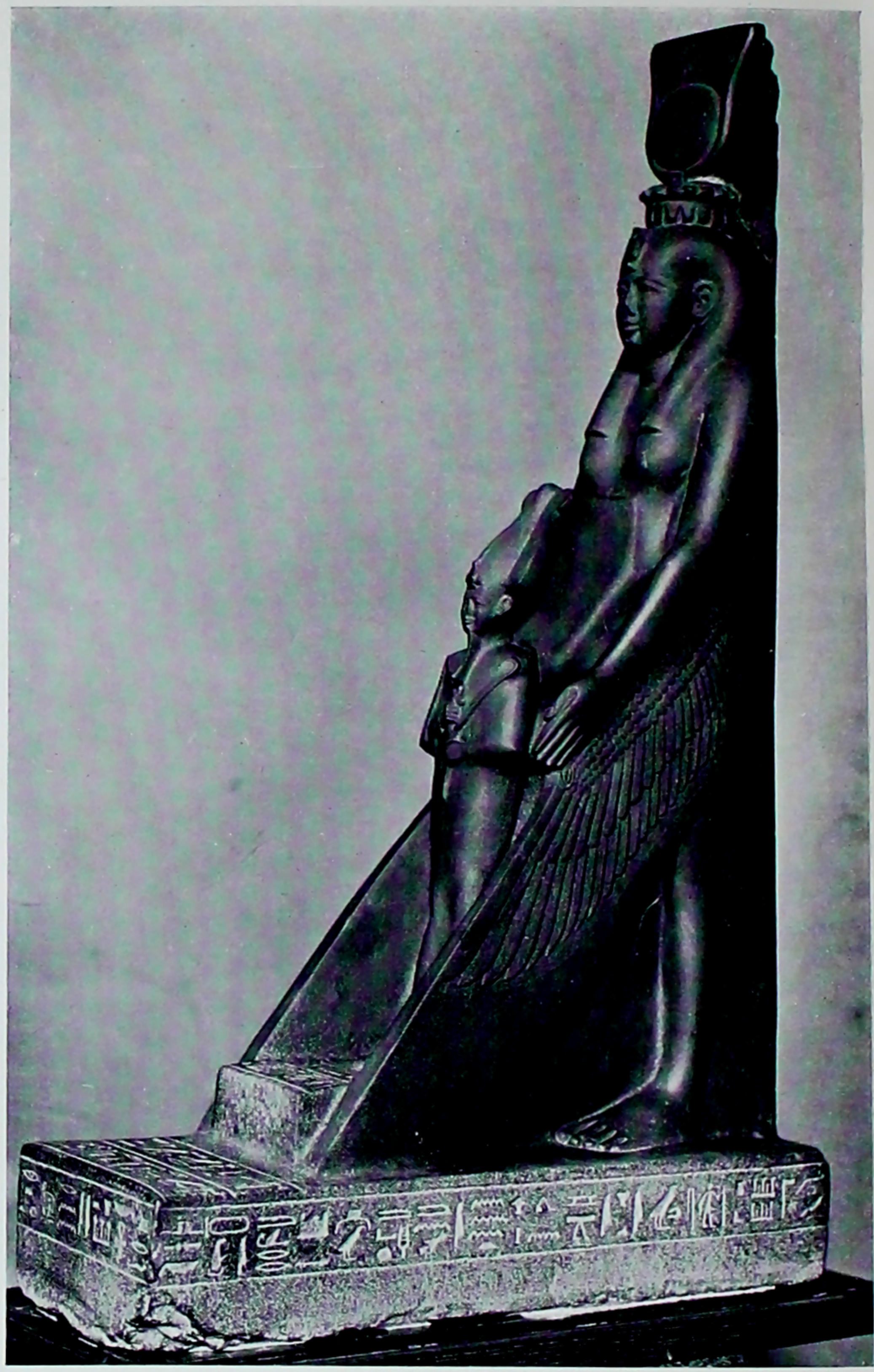


Figure of Isis holding Osiris between her winged arms, dedicated to the goddess by Shashanq, Chancellor of the high priestess of Ȧmen-Rā at Thebes. Ptolemaïc Period.

Brit. Mus., No. 1162.

"der vorliegenden nur annähernd vergleichbare Ab-
"geschlossenheit an Datum, Herkunft und sprach-
'lichem Charakter, sowie an Zahl aufweist; eine
"möglichst vollständige Ausgabe dürfte daher ebenso
"vom philologischen, wie vom kultur-und rechtshistor-
"ischen Standpunkte aus willkommen sein."

Having secured a few important Egyptian antiquities,[1] I returned to Mallawî, and despatched to Cairo the cases that awaited me, and continued my journey northwards by the east bank of the Nile. A few miles down the river I found several small Greek papyri in the hands of a native, a stranger to me, and he pressed me to take them to London for examination. When I remarked on their small size he said, "True, but had you come last year I would have given you larger." As I was leaving the house with these fragments I asked one of the natives who had come with me from Cairo what had become of the large papyri of which the man had spoken. In reply he said that he and another dealer came to the village the previous winter, and found there in the man's hands ten good-sized rolls of papyrus written in "Yawnânî," *i.e.*, Greek, and they began to bargain with him for them. The bargaining, as usual, occupied several hours, for the would-be seller and buyers sipped endless cups of coffee and smoked many cigarettes. Little by little the owner lowered his price and little by little the dealers increased their offer, until at length the latter made what they declared to be their last offer, which was refused by the seller in a half-hearted manner. With the view of impressing the owner of the papyri with the greatness of the sum which they were offering, and of making him come to a decision and accept their offer, the dealers produced a bag containing two hundred

[1] *E.g.*, the Cone of Sebek-ḥetep, made in the reign of Sebekemsaf, 2000 B.C. (see *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* (Sculpture), No. 280; the shrine of Pasutensa, 2300 B.C. (*ibid.*, No. 174); the stele of Ȧntef, who flourished under three kings of the XIth dynasty (*ibid.*, No. 99); and the statue of Isis with Horus, dedicated by Shashanq, an official of the high-priestess of Ȧmen-Rā at Thebes under the XXIInd dynasty (*ibid.*, No. 964).

sovereigns, and began to lay them out in rows on a large handkerchief stretched upon the ground. Whilst this was being done the sound of the paddle-wheels of a steamer reached them, and the owner of the papyri jumped up in an excited manner, and ran out to the river bank, which was close by, to see what the steamer was, and whether it was going to stop at the village. A few minutes later he ran back in a more excited state than ever, and told the dealers that the steamer belonged to the Service of Antiquities, that it was coming down-stream, and was coming to the village. And he said that he was sure that officials of the Service of Antiquities were coming to seize his papyri and arrest him. The dealers laughed at his fears, and urged him to close with their offer, but the man lost his head and stamped about his house in a distracted state. Suddenly he turned round, snatched up the box in which the rolls of papyrus were lying, and thrusting it under his feet, crushed it flat; the result of this was that the rolls of brittle papyrus were broken into innumerable small fragments. He then picked up the box, ran out to the river bank, and emptied its contents into the river. When he returned the dealers cursed him for his folly, and asked him why he had been such a fool. In reply he told them that a few weeks earlier the officials of the Service of Antiquities had raided a neighbouring village by night, and had carried off all the antiquities they found in the place, and the police, who were with them, arrested their owners and put them in prison. Therefore he was afraid to sell the papyri or to keep them.

A somewhat similar fate befell a box of demotic papyri which was found at Madînat Habû (Western Thebes) in 1898. The box was put into the hands of a native of Luxor, who was told to deliver it to me in Ḳanâ, where I was working for a few days. He set out on his journey in a large sailing boat, and when the boat was nearing Naḳâdah, about 12 miles down-stream of Luxor, he saw the steamer of the Service of Antiquities lying there. The captain of his boat, for some good reason undoubtedly, steered his craft

To face p. 344, vol. II.



Limestone shrine of the scribe Pa-suten-sa (or Pa-sa-nesu), with figures of Osiris and Horus. XIIth dynasty.

Brit. Mus., No. 1135.

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close to the steamer, and as she was drifting swiftly past her, one of Grébaut's servants hailed him and ordered him to stop, as the Director wanted to know if he had any anticas on board. The captain made no attempt to make the bank, and began to steer out into mid-stream, and as he did so, he shouted out some exceedingly rude personal criticisms of the man on the steamer. Grébaut's man promptly leaped into the dinghy which lay alongside the steamer, slipped her rope, and the little craft began to drift down the river after the large sailing boat. When the Luxor man with the box of papyri saw this, he jumped up excitedly, fearing that he would be caught by Grébaut's servant and taken to the steamer. So he took up the box of papyri, and climbed over the cargo to the side of the boat, and threw it into the river. The captain made every effort to stop him, and failing to do so, was so much exasperated that he grabbed him by his cloak and dropped him overboard, and told him in vivid language to swim ashore. This he managed to do, and found Grébaut's sailors waiting for him. They gave him a rough time, for their sympathy lay with their friends the owners of the papyri in Luxor, and when he returned to Luxor his welcome was of the coldest.

On my return to Cairo I received great kindness from de Morgan, who facilitated the despatch of my cases, and did everything to help me. My business proceeded so rapidly that I had time to go to Mansûrah, and Damietta, and to several small sites in the Eastern Delta, where antiquities had been discovered.

The progress of our work in Egypt was such that it was necessary for me to go there in November, 1896. When I arrived in Cairo I found a mass of small Greek papyri, some from Meir, some from the Fayyûm, and some from places further south. I secured them all, took them into my own hands, and despatched them to the British Museum. Whilst I was concluding my negotiations for these in a native house, a man from Meir, who did not belong to the "company" of dealers with whom I was acquainted, came into the room, carrying

a tin box, and said he had a papyrus to sell. He opened the box and produced a roll of light-coloured papyrus, with many fragments which had been broken off it, and when one end of the roll was laid flat I saw that it contained several columns of Greek uncials. I had not sufficient knowledge of Greek literature to be able to identify the text, but I understood enough to see that it was a literary composition, and that it was written before the end of the second century, and I was certain that I must do my utmost to secure it for the British Museum. But I showed no interest in the document, and we all talked about everything except the papyrus, and sipped coffee and "drank smoke," until the owner began to tie up his box and make ready to go. Then, as a sort of afterthought, I began to talk about the papyrus and to ask his price. When I came to bargain with him I found him "solid" and "dry," as the natives say, and, compared with what I had paid for Greek papyri in previous years, his price seemed preposterous. I determined to have the papyrus, but I wanted to know what the text was before I came to the offer of my "last price." So I told him that I was only a *wakîl* (*i.e.* agent) of the Mijlis (*i.e.*, Committee of Trustees) in London, that I was myself not a *mu'allim* (learned man) in this kind of papyrus, that I must submit his price to the Mijlis, and that it would make the business go better and faster if he would let me copy a few lines of the writing, for I would send my copy to London, and the Chief Scribe of the Mijlis would tell me what to do. He made no objection to my proposal, and I copied about a dozen lines of the text.

We continued to drink coffee, for I wanted to find out where the papyrus came from, and I had made up my mind that when I left the house I must have it in my possession. In the course of our talk he told me that he had found it in a square (*i.e.*, rectangular) coffin, in a tomb in a hill close to Meir. There were many coffins in the tomb, but they had all been opened and ransacked in ancient times, and he had found nothing worth carrying away except this papyrus, which was

lying between the feet of a broken mummy and the end of its coffin. There were several painted plaster portrait faces and heads, and models of hands and feet, and fragments of mummies and coffins, scattered about the tomb. He had brought away with him one of the plaster heads which lay close to the coffin containing the papyrus, because he saw that it fitted on to one end of the broken cover. I asked him where the head was, and he said "outside," and when I hinted that I wanted to see it, he called out to a friend, who brought it in and laid it on the ground. He was willing to sell the head separately, and as I knew that nothing facilitated one difficult transaction so much as the transfer of money in connection with another, I soon came to terms with him for the head, and paid him his price for it in gold. He then produced from a small box hidden in his bosom a small model of a man made of wax, papyrus and hair, which was intended to be burned slowly in a fire whilst incantations were recited, in order to produce some evil effect upon the person whom it represented. I had never before seen one of the figures which were used in working "black magic," and there was no example in the British Museum, and I bought it[1] and at a reasonable price and paid him for it at once.

The sight of ready money had a good effect upon him, for he began to describe many objects which he said he could acquire cheaply if he had money available. He then went on to tell me that the prices of Greek papyri had risen greatly, and that "all the world" in Cairo and Luxor was asking for them. These things I knew to be absolutely true, for there were several agents for Continental Museums, and two or three well-known English archæologists, who were scouring Cairo for Greek papyri. Some of the officials of the Egyptian Museum still bore a grudge against me for carrying off the Aristotle Papyrus, for they had been soundly rated by the Government for allowing an Englishman to steal a march on

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[1] Brit. Mus., No. 37,918. See *Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 20.

them, and they, too, were enquiring everywhere for Greek papyri, and keeping a sharp watch on the natives. I also knew that some of the officials connected with the British Army of Occupation would gladly prevent any good thing being acquired for the British Museum. At length I dared greatly, and told him that I would buy the papyrus, but that I could not pay him until I had authority to do so from London. But this did not please him, for he wanted ready money, and he wrapped up the papyrus and prepared to leave the house with it. I felt that it would be a colossal blunder on my part to let him do this, so I told him that I would give him a substantial sum of money out of my own pocket as a deposit, provided that he would place the papyrus with a native friend of mine in Cairo until I returned from Upper Egypt. He agreed to this and went back to Cairo with me, and, having received the money, he deposited the papyrus with my friend. I then sent the copy of the few lines of the Greek text which I had made to the Principal Librarian in London, and asked for instructions, and I made my way to Sûhâg in Upper Egypt as soon as possible.

When I arrived there I discovered, to my great joy, that the sites which I had examined in 1892 and had arranged to have cleared, had yielded very good results. In one tomb which had just been opened were the mummies and coffins and funerary equipment of a whole family of ten or twelve persons, and they were singularly interesting. The head of the family seems to have been a Romano-Egyptian, and his two wives, who lay one on each side of him, were blonde women, probably natives of some country to the north of the Mediterranean. The facts were evident from the brightly-painted cartonnage cases which covered the mummies and were intended to reproduce the face of the man and the faces and figures of his wives. The hair ornaments of the women, and their necklaces, breast ornaments, rings, armlets, anklets, etc., were copied in gold and colours, and the way in which their garments were fastened and worn, and the decorated designs on the



Painted papyrus cartonnage case for a woman of the Roman Period, about A.D. 200.
Brit. Mus., No. 29585.

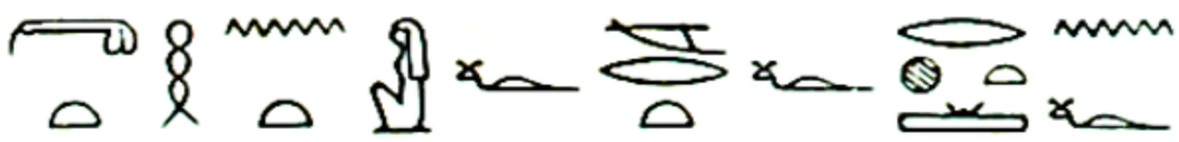
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borders, were reproduced most carefully, and seemingly with great accuracy. The cartonnages of the women were made of fragments of old, inscribed papyri, and seemed to have been moulded to their nude figures. Each mummy lay upon a flat, rectangular board, on which were painted figures of the gods, monster serpents, etc., in the style of the second or third century after Christ, and each of the three large mummies in the cartonnage cases lay under a plain rectangular box-shaped cover, upon which were laid loosely a painted plaster portrait head above the head of the mummy, and a pair of painted plaster hands above the breast, and a pair of painted plaster feet above the feet. Grouped near the coffins of the adults were the mummies of several children in sealed-up cartonnages, and, judging by the weight of them, much plaster must have been used in their preparation. The children's names were written on their cartonnages in demotic characters.

Near one of the walls of the tomb were two narrow boxes, about 2 feet long, and each of these contained a gaudily-painted plaster figure of a large well-developed nude woman, who, judging by the colour and shape of the figures, could not have been a native of Egypt. These figures became the subject of acute discussion among the workmen, who could not make up their minds whether they represented "sarâriyy," *i.e.*, "concubines," or "sharâmiṭ," *i.e.*, "prostitutes." On two coffins of the XIth dynasty in Cairo we find texts in which the deceased prays that in the Ṭuat, or Other World, he may meet "his father, mother, sons, daughters, brethren, sisters, friends, foster-parents, kinsfolk, fellow-workers, and the concubine whom he loved and knew."[1] In the light of this passage it is probable that the natives who regarded these figures as representations of the concubines of the deceased were correct. There were no examples in the British Museum of the coffins, cartonnages, painted mummies, plaster heads, etc., of the

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[1]  ; see my *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, p. 67.

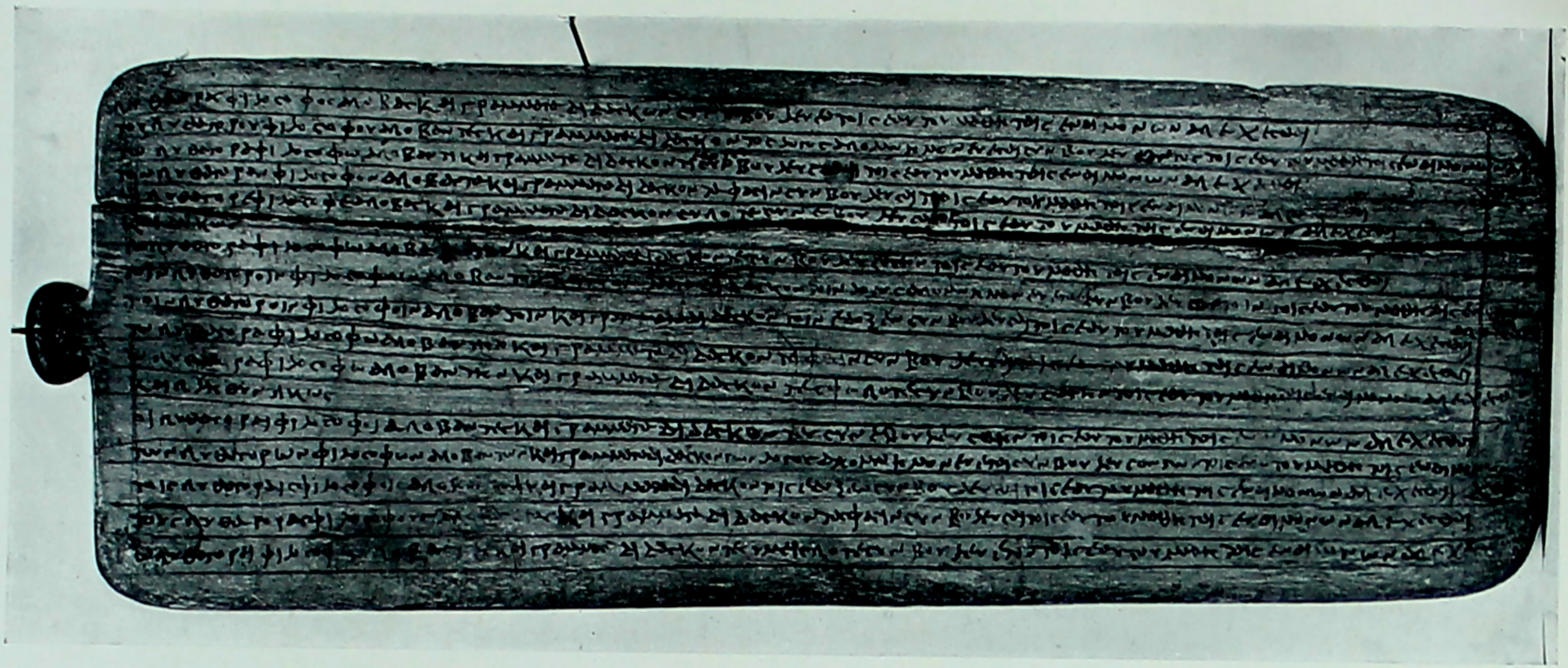
kind which I saw before me. I therefore made a selection from the mummies and every class of funerary objects, including the painted plaster figures described above, and had boxes made for them at once, and packed them up and carried them off with me.[1]

On my return to Cairo I found a letter from the Principal Librarian, instructing me to "secure the Greek papyrus," of which I have already spoken, and I gathered from the remarks which followed that the text had been identified, and that it was of great importance. I set out without delay for the village where the owner of the papyrus lived, but when I found him, and wanted to settle the business with him, I learned that, during my absence in Upper Egypt, the matter had become unpleasantly complicated in this way. Before he brought the papyrus to me he sent a fragment with a few lines of text on it to a friend in Cairo, and asked him to show it to some of the English visitors there who were known to be interested in such things, and to ascertain if the papyrus was of great value or not. This friend took the fragment to an official of the Service of Antiquities, who quickly made out that it was a lost poem by an ancient Greek author, and he at once took steps officially with the view of finding out where the rest of the papyrus was and where it had come from. The fragment was then shown to an English professor, who said the same thing as the official and went about Cairo telling his friends that he had discovered a lost Greek work. When the European dealers in Cairo heard of the discovery they began to make inquiries among the native dealers, but they gained no information from them. The net result of all this was to enhance the value of the papyrus in the mind of its owner, and he bitterly regretted that he had not asked a higher price for it. He managed to get it into his hands again in spite of our agreement.

When I told him that I had come to pay the balance

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[1] See *Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms*, p. 119 ff. (Nos. 29,584—29,589, etc.).



Board for hanging up in a school to teach children.

Obv. : Paradigm of a Greek verb.
Rev. : A typical sentence in Greek with variations to teach the inflections of the words composing it.

Brit. Mus., Add. MS., No. 37516.

To face p. 350, vol. ii.

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of the money, he refused to take it and wanted to give me back the sum which I had given him by way of deposit before I went to Upper Egypt. Then he said that the officials of the Service of Antiquities and some British officials also were making a fuss about the papyrus, and that he was afraid to sell it to me. I explained to him that he had already sold it to me, and, having sat in his house with him for two days and two nights, on the evening of the third day we came to terms, and I returned to Cairo with the papyrus. The fact that I had taken possession of it leaked out immediately, as such things always do in the East, and silly rumours got about as to the price which it was alleged that I had paid for it. The officials of the Service of Antiquities asked me to give it up to them, with the name of the native from whom I had obtained it, and I refused. The British Consul-General sent me a note telling me to give up the papyrus, saying that, if I did not, he would ask my employers, the Trustees of the British Museum, to order me to do so, and again I refused. I knew that the threat was no idle one, so, to avoid all complications and the possible loss of the papyrus, I determined to buy it for myself and to pay for it out of the sum of money with which, in view of such a contingency, I had provided myself in London. The Trustees' regulations do not permit any of their servants to make a private collection of any class of antiquities with which his department deals, but as Greek papyri went to the Department of Manuscripts and not to the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, I broke no official rule in buying the papyrus for myself. The counter-move which the officials of the Service of Antiquities made was to warn the Customs authorities at Port Sa'îd and Alexandria to keep a sharp look-out for anticas in passengers' luggage, and the Postal authorities at these places were ordered to examine carefully all postal packets for England.

As it was hopeless to attempt to send the papyrus out of Egypt packed in a box, I cut it up into sections and laid them between layers of photographs, bought

for the purpose, and paper, and packed all between two thin deal boards, about 20 inches long and 12 inches wide, and these I tied up in the gaudy coloured paper which the Cairo shopkeepers used for wrapping up the purchases of customers. I sent for a certain Aḥmad, who lived in Fusṭâṭ (Old Cairo), and who was as useful to me in Cairo as "Ḥasan" was in Baghdâd, and when he arrived I arranged with him to see me off by the P. & O. steamer which was due at Suez the following night. That same day he took my heavy baggage to the station and registered it, and despatched it to a friend in Port Ṣa'îd. The next morning he went early to the station and bought two tickets for Suez, and when he returned we went to the market, and having purchased a small crate of 200 Yûsuf Effendi oranges, we drove together to the station. Aḥmad went into one compartment with the oranges and I into another, carrying the boards with the papyrus between them and my heavy ulster. Just before the train started two officials came into my compartment, saying they had come to take my luggage to the van at the end of the train, and when I said that I had sent my luggage to Port Ṣa'îd the day before, they looked under the seats suspiciously and left me. They then went into Aḥmad's compartment and searched the crate of oranges. In due course we reached Isma'îlîyah, where passengers for Port Ṣa'îd left the Suez train and continued their journey by the Suez Canal Company's steam tramway. The friendly "commissary" of the Suez train took my ulster and the boards with the papyrus to Aḥmad's compartment, and I walked to the car of the steam tramway and sat down as if I were going to Port Ṣa'îd. I watched my opportunity, and just before the tram started I left it, saying to the "commissary" that I wanted to buy some food, and after I had got a supply of bread-cakes, hard-boiled eggs, dates, pistachio nuts, etc., I walked across the line to the platform of the Suez train, and got into one of its end coaches, among the fourth-class passengers. There I sat down on the floor, and opening my large paper parcel of food, invited my neighbours to eat with

me. Several of them did so willingly, and in a few minutes we were chatting and eating comfortably together. Whilst thus occupied I saw some of the guards of the steam tram running up and down the platform, and peering into the first-class coaches looking for me, but they passed those of the third and fourth class unnnoticed to my great relief. At length we steamed out of the station, and we rumbled along in the happy-go-lucky way of trains to Suez in those days, and I was left free to admire the desert scenery on our right, and on our left the masts and rigging of the majestic steamers which we passed or met on their way through the Canal.

We arrived at Suez at 6 p.m., and it was almost dark. Aḥmad joined me on the platform, carrying the oranges, the ulster and the boards with the papyrus between them, and having taken the oranges from him I moved on towards the octroi offices, where all hand luggage had to be examined. I had been warned that the officials were very vigilant just then, and that they were insisting on opening every tied-up parcel or packet, and I did not want the boards to be untied or their contents examined. I had bought the crate of oranges in Cairo with a view of creating a diversion at the Suez octroi, and the time had arrived to use them for this purpose. When I reached the door of the office the officials looked at the crate of oranges, and two of them tried to snatch it away from me to carry it to the counter in the office, where parcels were unpacked for examination. I held on to the crate and protested loudly, but they tugged and pulled, and I did the same, and the mob on the platform crowded into the office, and took sides, and some of them encouraged the officials and some encouraged me. Among those who crowded into the office was Aḥmad, who, when the noise and confusion over the oranges was at its height, took the opportunity of slipping through the other door into the street, carrying the papyrus wrapped up in the ulster with him. I had given him the name and address of an official who was a good friend of mine, and he took the papyrus to his house and told him what was happening, whilst the octroi

officials and myself were still quarrelling over the oranges. At length the crate was opened and the oranges turned out and counted, and the officials called upon me to pay 15 piastres (3*s*.) octroi, but I refused. They insisted, and every few minutes they sent for some higher official to come and enforce their demand. I resisted until I saw Aḥmad coming towards the office, and then I paid and began to gather up the oranges and put them back in the crate. When my friend, who was with him, entered the office and came up to me and shook hands and offered his cigarette case, the officials' faces became troubled, and they began to explain away their performance of what, after all, was their duty. But my friend, who had lived in the East for many years, complimented them on their zeal. He then assured them that I had no intention of defrauding the octroi, and framed his words in such a way as to suggest that the oranges were brought specially by me for the sick in the little hospital in the town. Then, beckoning to Aḥmad, he told him to take the oranges to certain French Sisters in the town, and told the clerks of the octroi to buy cigarettes with the 15 piastres I had paid them for octroi on the oranges. Thus I got my papyrus into safe keeping, the Sisters got the oranges, the clerks got the 15 piastres, and my friend much amusement over the incident, and so everybody was pleased.

My object in going to Suez was to embark on the homeward-bound P. & O. mail steamer, which a well-informed friend in Cairo told me would arrive there between midnight and 3 a.m. the following day. But there was a difficulty to be overcome, for the steamer would stop at a place about three miles from the town to have her "canal rudder" fitted on, and I did not know how or where to get a boat to take me out to the steamer at that early hour of the morning. In the course of the evening I explained matters to my friend, and why it was important for me to reach the steamer, and to my great joy he said he would send me to her in his own steam launch, and he promptly gave orders to the engineer and crew of the launch to be ready for me at

midnight. I spent a delightful evening with my friend, whom I left at midnight to go down to the quay. A little way from the shore we ran into a strong south-easterly breeze, which dashed the sea over us and wetted us to the skin. Four hours later the ship appeared and dropped anchor, and I went on board, and the letter from my well-informed friend in Cairo to the captain procured me a kind reception, and a comfortable berth was found for me at once. Whilst Aḥmad was sending away the launch with a generous *bukhshîsh*, I handed over the papyrus to one of the ship's officers, who stowed it away in a safe place. Aḥmad accompanied me to Port Ṣa'îd and went ashore there to claim my baggage, and when he returned with it he told me that the bullock trunks had been opened and searched by the Customs authorities before he got to them. He was told that I was staying in Isma'î-lîyiah, and when he asked his informant if it was not true that I had gone to Suez, he replied, "What is the good of his going to Suez? The P. & O. steamers do not allow passengers to embark at Suez." Which was, of course, from a general point of view quite true.

A fortnight later I gave the papyrus into the hands of the Principal Librarian, and the Trustees of the British Museum purchased it at their next meeting from a connection of mine, who signed the Treasury warrant for payment, and gave it to me. The papyrus contained nearly forty columns of the text of the Odes of Bacchylides, a great lyric poet who flourished in the first half of the fifth century B.C., and the experts thought that it was written about the middle of the first century B.C.[1] Sir Richard Jebb told me that he thought it was worth more than all the other things I had acquired for the Museum put together! His works were hitherto unknown except for a few disjointed fragments.

My next five visits to Egypt were made in connection with journeys to the Sûdân on the invitation of Lord

[1] See *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. between* 1894 *and* 1899, London, 1901, p. 543 (*Papyrus* No. 733); and the edition of the text by Kenyon, *The Poems of Bacchylides*, London, 1897, with facsimile.

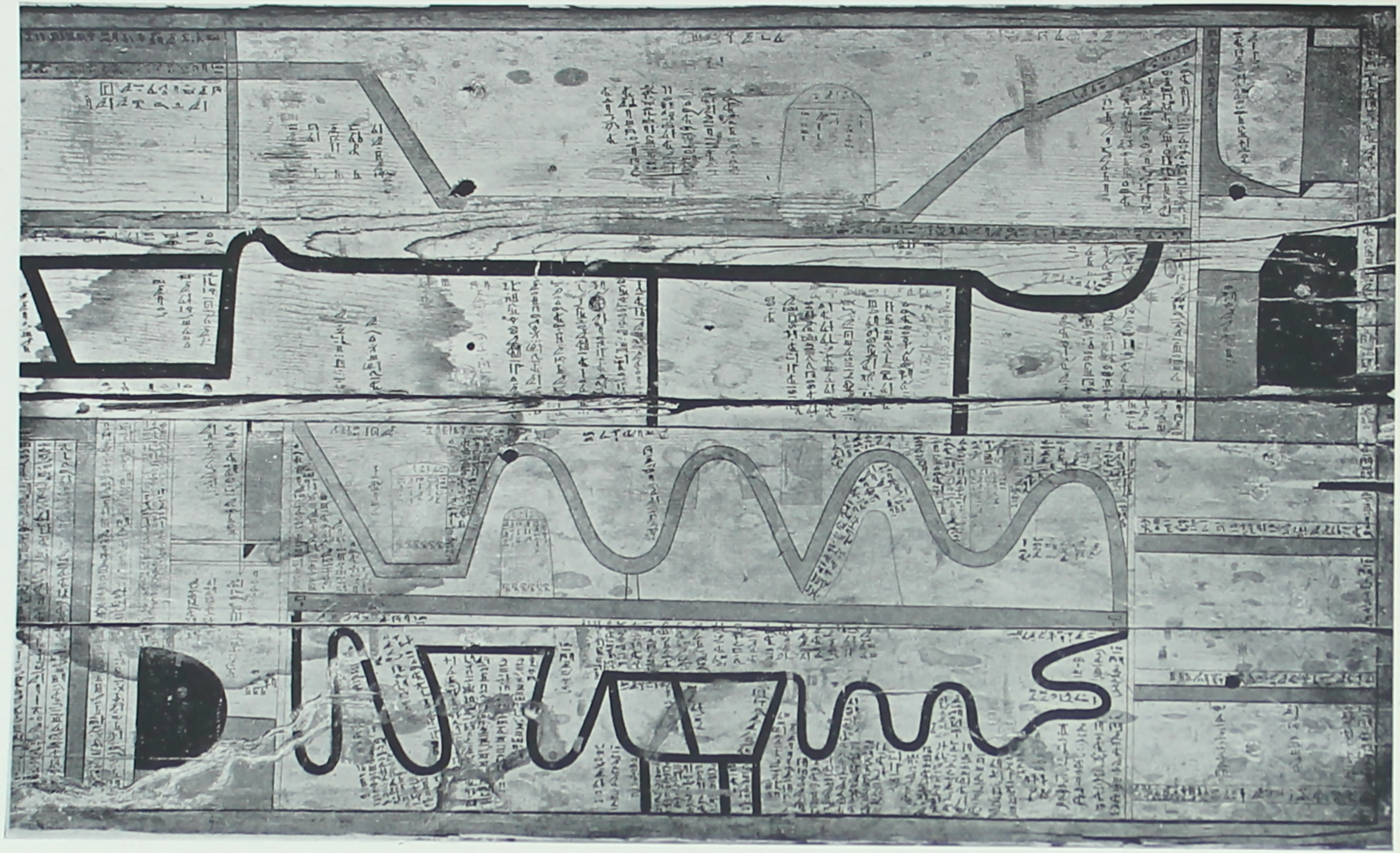
Kitchener and General Sir F. R. Wingate, Sâardr and Governor-General of the Sûdân, in 1897, 1898, 1900, 1902 and 1905. I have described my travels and work in the Sûdân in my "History of the Egyptian Sûdân," two volumes, London, 1907, and all I need say about it here is that, thanks to the above-mentioned gentlemen, I was enabled to visit all the ancient sites in Nubia and the ancient Egyptian Sûdân, including the Island of Meroë. With the effective assistance of General Sir F. R. Wingate I dug out several of the pyramids at Jabal Barkal and Meroë, and examined all the pyramid fields in the Sûdân. As I passed up and down the Nile to Wâdî Ḥalfah and further south I took the opportunity of inspecting the collections of antiquities which the dealers had got together, and I was able to secure many valuable objects for the British Museum.[1]

In 1896 the Trustees decided to increase their collection of scarabs, and I was instructed to attempt to fill up the gaps in it and to acquire good and characteristic supplementary specimens whenever it was possible to do so. A year or so before de Morgan left Egypt (1897) he excavated the pyramids of Dahshûr and discovered much beautiful jewellery and many scarabs of the period of the XIIth dynasty. After he stopped the works some natives found an unopened tomb of a princess of that dynasty, near the foundations of one of the pyramids, and I contributed to the cost of clearing it out. From this tomb I acquired a string of sixty-four scarabs,[2] made of agate, onyx, cornelian, lapis-lazuli, etc., all set in gold frames decorated with gold "bead work" of very fine workmanship, and they formed a valuable addition to the collection of Egyptian

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[1] Between 1891 and 1913 I visited Egypt on the business of the Trustees thirteen times, viz., October to December, 1892; January and February, 1895; November and December, 1896; August, 1897 to January, 1898; December, 1898 and January, 1899; December, 1900 and January, 1901; December, 1902, to February, 1903; December, 1904, to April, 1905; March, 1906; March and April, 1907; March and April, 1909; February and March, 1911; and November and December, 1913.

[2] See *Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 220 (No. 382).



A portion of the text, with vignettes, of the Book of the Two Ways. From the inside of a painted coffin from Al-Barshah.
Brit. Mus., No. 30841.

To face p. 356, vol. ii. (see p. 358).

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jewellery in the British Museum, which hitherto had included no example of this kind of scarab. A few months later I was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of an official of the Law Department of the Egyptian Government, whose father had been Mariette's chief assistant whilst he was excavating Tanis and other ancient sites in the Delta. Now, Mariette appears to have taken very little interest in scarabs and small funerary antiquities, and as a result his chief assistant and some of his kinsmen (who were also employed on the work) made large collections of scarabs, numbering many thousands. The scarabs which they collected are commonly known as "Delta scarabs." They lack the fine green or blue colour of the scarabs of Upper Egypt, and are more valuable from an historical than an artistic point of view. But they are of importance, for on many are cut the names of the Hyksos kings and of the local rulers of the XVth and XVIth dynasties, and the symbols and devices with which their bases are decorated are of great interest. Owing to circumstances which I need not describe, the legal gentleman found himself charged with the duty of disposing of the collections of scarabs which his kinsmen had made, and he came to me and offered them *en bloc* to the British Museum. He would not allow selections to be made from them, and refused very tempting offers from some of the European dealers and private collectors. He scouted the idea of selling them to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, for (judging by what he said) his opinion of the strictness or effectiveness of the custody of antiquities in that institution was not very high. We came to terms, and in consequence about 6,000 Delta scarabs were added to the British Museum collection in a few years. Subsequently I seized an opportunity of acquiring the very valuable collection of scarabs from Upper Egypt made by Mr. Chauncey Murch, so another 3,000 scarabs were secured. The British Museum collection of scarabs is at the present time the finest, largest and most complete in the world, for it not only includes specimens from Egypt, Nubia and the Sûdân,

but from Palestine, Syria, Assyria, Babylonia and Persia. The catalogue of the royal scarabs alone fills a large and fairly thick volume.[1]

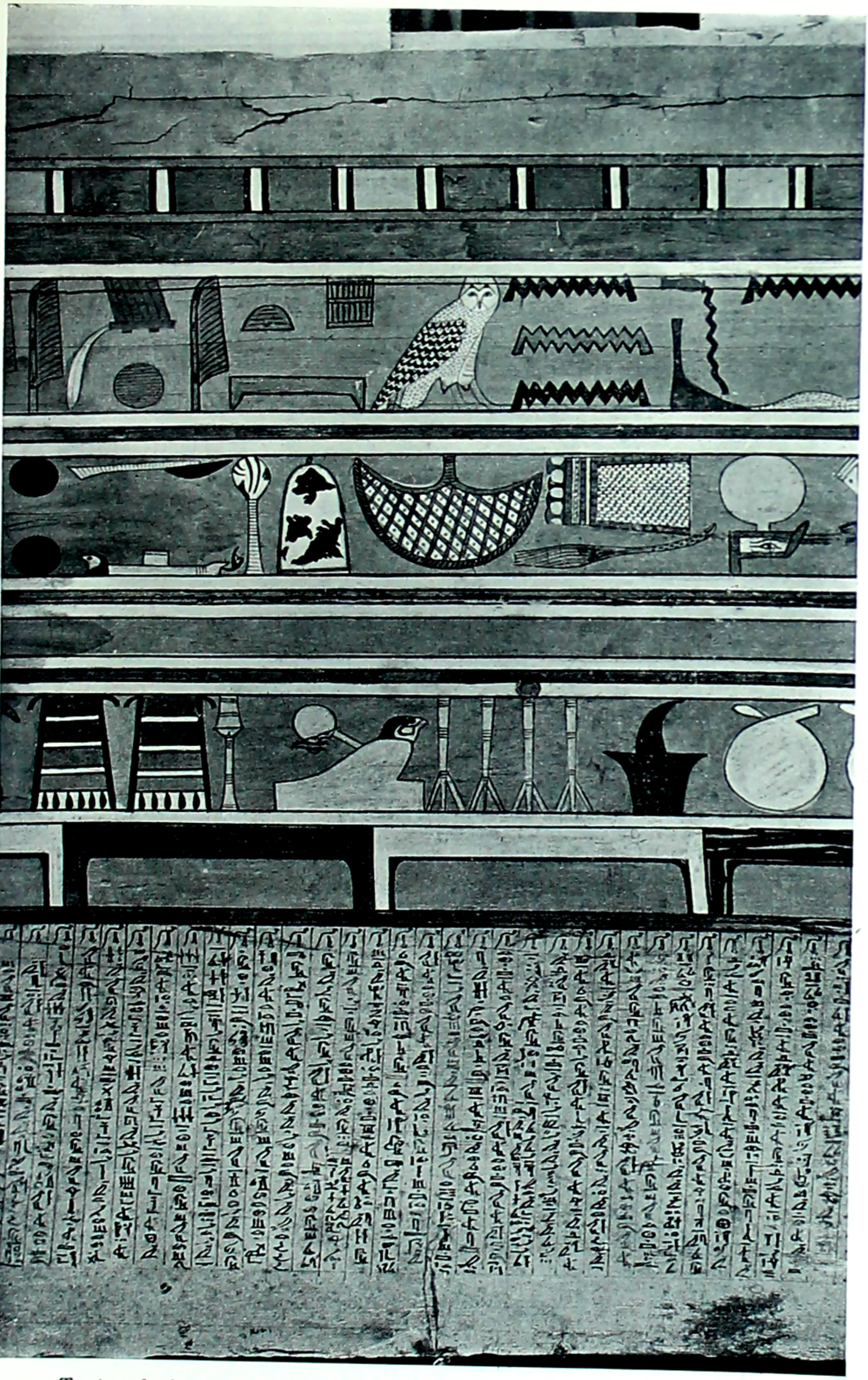
During the Directorate of de Morgan the natives discovered a group of very fine tombs of the XIIth dynasty at Al-Barshah, and, as already stated, I obtained two fine rectangular coffins from them in 1895. Under an arrangement which I made with the Service of Antiquities the natives cleared out another group of tombs, and so brought to light a very important collection of inscribed coffins and funerary furniture. The insides of the coffins were found to be covered with series of texts in the hieratic character, taken from the Recension of the Book of the Dead which was current in the XIth and XIIth dynasties and earlier, and from a valuable but little-known funerary composition, which has been called the "Book of the Two Ways." Above these texts are to be seen beautifully painted pictures of all the objects which were offered to the deceased during the recital of the "Liturgy of Funerary Offerings." On the bottoms of the coffins are coloured vignettes of the Elysian Fields, and the River of the Ṭuat, and of other parts of the Land of the Dead, with many rubrical directions. As there was no coffin resembling these in the British Museum, with the exception of that of Ȧmamu (No. 6654), I secured three of the largest and most complete of the outer coffins, several of the smaller inner coffins,[2] and the accompanying wooden coffers with all their "Canopic" jars, several funerary model-boats with their crews complete, models of cattle, etc.

The strange pottery with its curious designs and decorations which the natives began to dig up in the neighbourhood of Abydos and Naḳâdah in 1892 soon attracted the attention of archæologists and roused

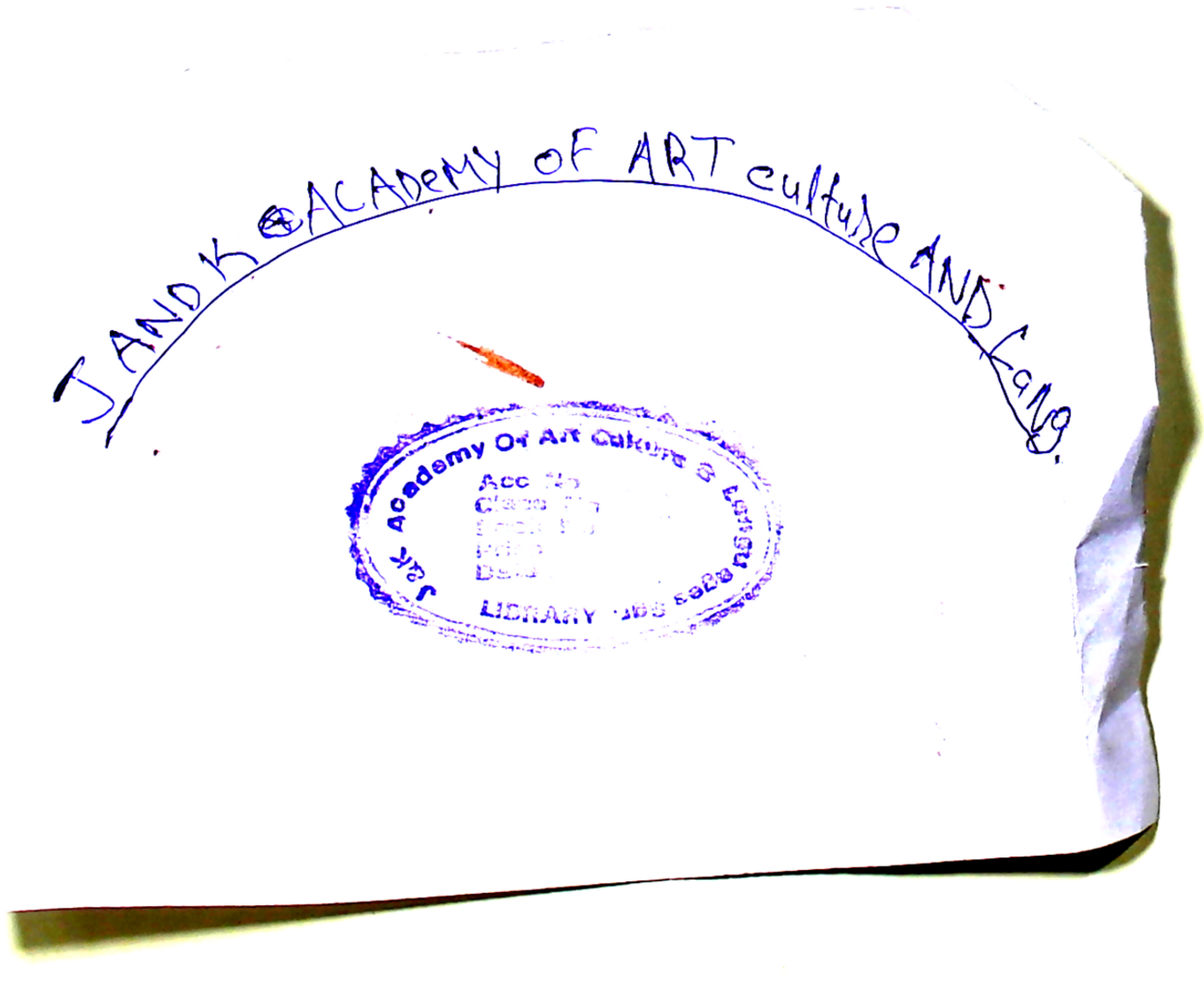
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[1] See Hall, H. R. H., *Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum*, vol. i, Royal Scarabs, London, 1913. Mr. Hall has catalogued the whole collection, and the appearance of the other volumes is awaited with lively interest.

[2] Brit. Mus., Nos. 30,839, 30,840, 30,841, 30,842, 34,259, etc.



Text and vignettes from the inside of a painted coffin from Al-Barshah.
Brit. Mus., No. 30841.


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their interest. De Morgan was the first to prove that it was made by the primitive inhabitants of Egypt, *i.e.*, the predecessors of the dynastic Egyptians, and he promptly made extensive excavations at Al-'Amrah, about three miles from Abydos, where his "finds" were important. In 1895 and 1896 other excavators, chiefly European, began to clear out the ruins of the pre-dynastic settlements at Abydos, Tûkh, Hierakonpolis, Gebelên (Jabalên), etc., but they left several parts of them untouched, and as soon as they ceased working the natives set to work to finish the excavations on their own account. Having contributed towards the expense of clearing the cemeteries, I obtained from them large collections of pre-dynastic antiquities, viz., breccia bowls, stone maceheads, knives, spear- and arrow-heads, scrapers, digging tools, etc., in flint, models of animals, bone figures of women with inlaid eyes, flat green schist figures of animals, unpierced beads, toilet vases, etc.[1] In the greater number of the tombs from which these things came the human remains were much broken, and generally speaking were not worth removing, for they consisted chiefly of bones with neither flesh nor skin on them. But I was anxious to obtain a complete specimen of the pre-dynastic Egyptian, whether sun-dried or mummified, for there was no example of him in the British Museum. I went to site after site, but everywhere I found that the bodies had been broken in pieces, either by falling stones or sand, or by the natives. I had almost given up all hope of getting a complete human body when a native of Gebelên (Jabalên) came to me saying that he wished me to come and see some graves which he and his friends had found at the foot of a hill near the old course of the western arm of the Nile, which is now called "Baḥr bilâ ma," *i.e.*, the "waterless river."[2] He said that all the graves contained pottery and large flints, and mummies. Most

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[1] For the list and descriptions see the *Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, pp. 46–50.

[2] On this river see Schweinfurth in Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1879, pp. 1–9.

of the mummies were naked, but one was wrapped up in a skin, and another in a large mat made of slim bundles of reeds tied together; and all the mummies were lying on their left sides with their knees and hands up to their faces. I knew that many pre-dynastic antiquities had been found at Gebelên, for Mr. Greville Chester had bought several and had sold them to the Trustees. The native's information seemed so exact that I set out with him that night, and reached Gebelên two days later; he guided me to the graves at once and I saw that what he had told me was true.

One of the largest of the graves had been dug partly under a small projecting spur of the hill, and it was nearly covered over by two or three large lumps of stone which seemed to have been placed there after the burial of the body. These were tightly jammed together, and to this fact the body in the grave owed its preservation in a complete state. We removed some small stones and sand, taking care not to disturb the large lumps of stone, and then I saw lying in the grave, with pots and flints about it, the body of a man in the position which the native had described to me. The body was quite naked and complete, and I decided to acquire it, but the difficulty was to get it out of the hollow which served for its grave. I was afraid to attempt to remove the large stones lest one of them should fall on the body and crush it. We therefore shored up the stones, and then carefully dug a pit in front of the grave, and when this was deep enough we dug inwards under it. We broke away bit by bit the sandstone bed of the grave, and thus the body dropped down by degrees to the bottom of the pit we had made. We then lifted out the body uninjured, and after that the other contents of the grave. We found the body quite dry, and some of its skin was cracked. We then turned our attention to the other graves, and took out three men with their flints and pots, and one woman. One man was wrapped in a skin, a second in a mat of palm fibre, and the third was rolled up in a reed mat. The woman was without covering, and the only pot in her

To face p. 360, *vol. ii.*



Dried body of a predynastic Egyptian with flint knives, earthenware pots, etc.
Predynastic Period.

Brit. Mus., No. 32751.

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grave contained what seemed to be a sort of dried porridge. I sent off for wood, which was difficult to find in that neighbourhood, and made temporary boxes, and having rolled the bodies in cotton waste laid them in the boxes, and took them to Luxor, where I had new boxes made of thick wood, and re-packed the bodies. I unpacked the first man we had taken out of his grave at Gebelên one Saturday in March, 1900, in the presence of Lord Crawford and the Principal Librarian, and when it was laid on a table it was as complete as when I first saw it at Gebelên. But when it was examined again on the following Monday morning it was discovered that the top joint of one of the forefingers was missing, and it has, to my knowledge, never been seen since. The body was exhibited at once in the First Egyptian Room, and for the first time the British public saw a neolithic Egyptian.

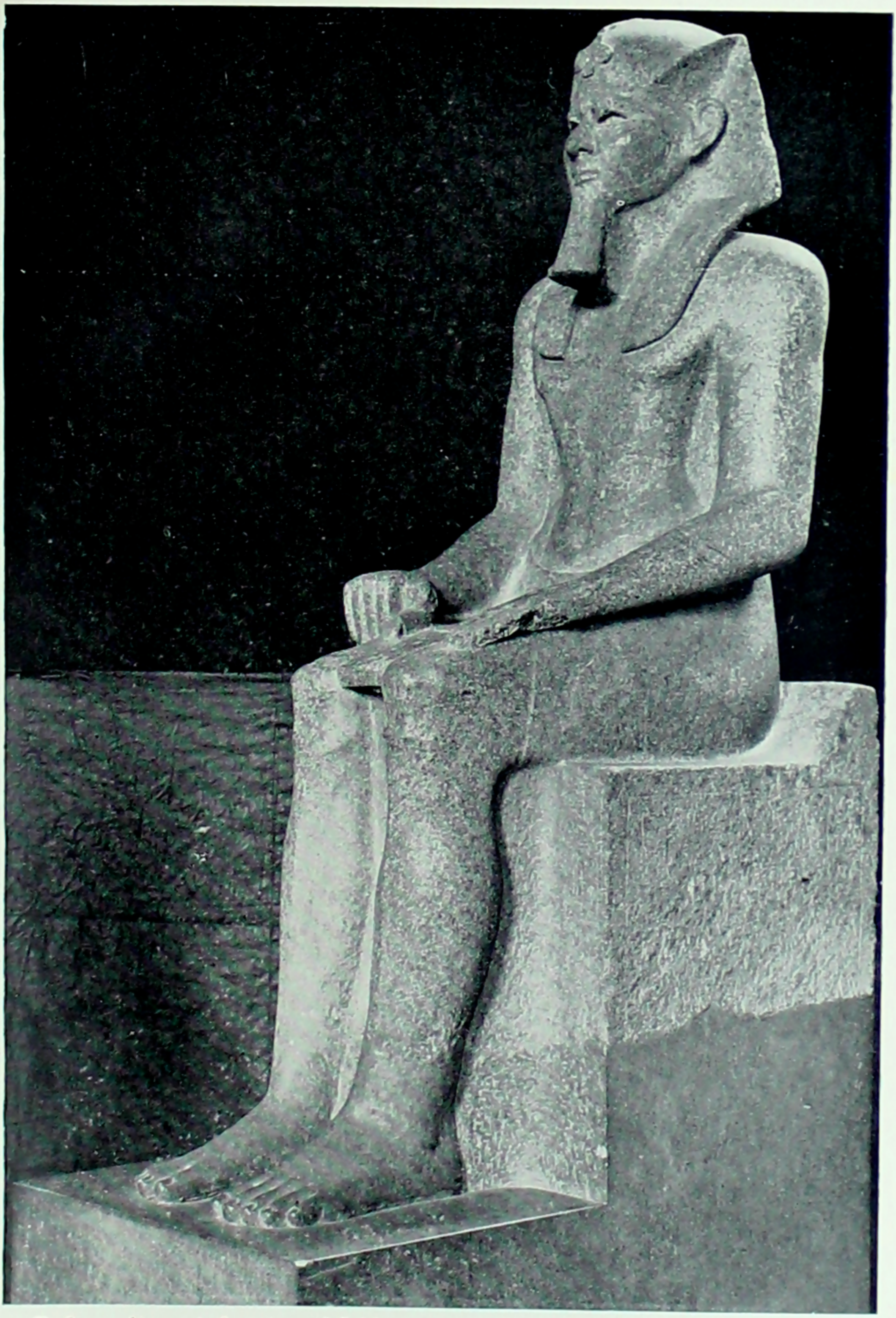
In 1899 Maspero returned to Egypt, and again became Director of the Service of Antiquities, to the great satisfaction of all who took a genuine interest in Egyptian Antiquities and Egyptian Archæology. His re-appointment brought me personally great relief; as it had been carried through by the British authorities in Cairo—that is to say, by the British Consul-General—I was able to do my work without their interference. I had a long and very friendly interview with him in 1900, and discussed with him the possibility of acquiring several large objects which we needed in the British Museum to fill up gaps in the Collection. He said that it was quite impossible for him to bring to Cairo, still less to exhibit in the Egyptian Museum there, all the large objects which were at that moment lying in tombs, and which ought to be taken to some large Museum where they would be properly housed and preserved. He confessed that with his comparatively small budget and staff it was wholly impossible for him to protect all the tombs in the country. And he suggested that it would be far better for the antiquities, and certainly much more economical for the Trustees of the British Museum, if they were to buy direct from him, as Director

of the Service of Antiquities, the large sarcophagi and maṣṭabah doors which they required to complete their Collection. He was very anxious to make some arrangement of this kind with me, for, apart from his desire to see valuable antiquities safely housed in Europe and cared for, he needed all the money he could get to supplement his meagre grant for excavations. It was therefore not difficult to come to an understanding with him. And as the result of his liberal policy, I acquired the complete maṣṭabah tomb of Ur-ȧri-en-Ptaḥ,[1] an official of Pepi II, who flourished about 3166 B.C.; the fine maṣṭabah door of Ȧsȧ-ānkh,[2] who flourished in the reign of Ṭeṭkarā Ȧssȧ, 3366 B.C.; one of the four granite pillars of the portico of the pyramid of King Unȧs, 3333 B.C.[3]; the basalt coffin of Uaḥȧbrā from "Campbell's Tomb" at Gîzah[4] (about 600 B.C.); and the fine stone sarcophagus of Qem-Ptaḥ (about 350 B.C.), which is sculptured inside and out with texts and vignettes of the Book of the Other World.

In other ways, too, Maspero showed himself willing to be of use to the Trustees. He was offered a large granite statue, which was said to be of fine workmanship and to have upon its girdle and other parts of it the pre-nomen and nomen of Rameses II; a good photograph of the statue was submitted for his inspection, but he decided not to buy it, and suggested that I should. The statue, though broken at the feet, seemed to be in such a good state of preservation, and to be so unlike anything we had in the British Museum, that I went to Alexandria, where it was lying, to examine it. The owner told me that the statue had been brought down from some place near the Third Cataract at the time when the stelæ of Piānkhi and the other kings of Napata were brought down to Cairo from Jabal Barkal in 1862–3. After examining it, I concluded that the King represented by the statue was not an Egyptian, but a Sûdânî man, and the form of the face and the general shape

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[1] See *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* (*Sculpture*), p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 18. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 230.



Red granite seated statue of Sekhem-suatch-taui-Rā, a king of the XIIIth or XIVth dynasty.

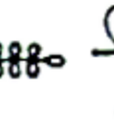
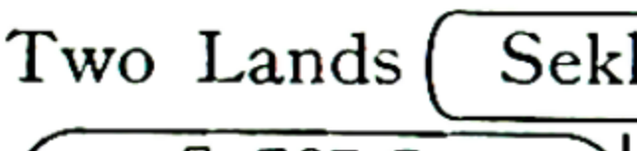
Brit. Mus., No. 871.

To face p. 363, vol. ii.



Sepulchral stele of Thethȧ, an official who flourished in the reign of Uaḥ-ānkh-Ȧntef. XIth dynasty.

Brit. Mus., No. 614.

of the body reminded me of the young natives whom I had seen in the country between the Second and the Fourth Cataracts. On the back of the throne two lions, back to back, were cut in outline, and the signs  "fluid of life"; I had never before seen such decorations on a throne. The mystery was cleared up as soon as I made out the titles and cartouche of the king, which read, "Beautiful god, lord of the Two Lands  for then I saw that the statue was made for a king of the XIIIth or XIVth dynasty, and not for Rameses II, a king of the XIXth dynasty. I wrote to Maspero, and asked him if he intended to allow this very valuable historical monument to leave the country and he replied, "Had I known that the statue was so ancient, I should have sent and had it brought to Cairo immediately. Several soi-disant Egyptologists have seen it, and read the cartouche as the prenomen of Rameses II, but as you have discovered the true reading and have identified the king, take it for your Museum."[1]

Maspero also helped me in another important matter, for he allowed me to take objects from certain tombs at a valuation when I had defrayed the cost of the clearing of them. There was a little incompletely excavated site in Western Thebes, from which Mariette had obtained several monuments of the XIth dynasty, and the natives pressed me to clear it out. I did so, and was well repaid, for from it I acquired: (1) The famous stele of Ȧntef,[2] an official who lived under three kings of the XIth dynasty, about 2600 B.C.; (2) the sepulchral stele of Sebek-Ȧa[3]: (3) the stele of Thethȧ[4], who flourished in the reign of Uaḥānkh, about 2600 B.C. The last-named stele is of very great importance, for it has settled the order of succession of three kings of the XIth dynasty. We dug out the stele in the year 1902,

[1] It is now No. 276. See *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* (*Sculpture*), p. 80.

[2] See *ibid.*, p. 30. [3] See *ibid.*, p. 33. [4] See *ibid.*, p. 30.

when I was on my way to the Sûdân, and I left it at Luxor in charge of a native who was to take care of it for me until I returned. During my absence this man allowed an American tourist to see it, and though—so I was assured by the native—he was told that the stele was the property of the British Museum, he made a faulty copy of the text and published it.[1] Others hearing of the stele wished to buy it, and tried to bribe the native to deliver it into their hands for examination, but without success. One enterprising German Professor went so far as to spread a rumour to the effect that I had died in the Sûdân, and renewed his attempts to bribe the native. Having failed to obtain the stele, they raised an outcry and said that I was stealing antiquities out of the tombs and carrying them off to London. This outcry was absurd, for the natives were very much alive to the pecuniary value of anticas, and they would have been the first to prevent anyone taking away for nothing the things which they regarded as their own peculiar property. And the natives knew better than anyone else that the Trustees of the British Museum always paid fair prices for the things they purchased. I have often secured valuable antiquities over the heads of many bidders among the agents for public museums and private collectors, but this was always due to the fact that I offered a fair price, and did not try to obtain a prize below its prime cost. The prices sanctioned by the Trustees were always fair and reasonable, and often generous. And the native dealer is well able to appreciate just dealing and fair treatment.

When the malcontents found that the natives laughed at them, and that Maspero continued to support me, they attacked Mr. Howard Carter, Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, with the view (it was thought) of getting him removed from his position. Their accusations against him were voiced by Mr. J. H. Insinger, a resident in Luxor, who stated in *Le Phare d'Alexandrie* for

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[1] See G. C. Pier in *American Jnl. of Sem. Languages*, April, 1905, p. 159 ff. The mistakes are corrected in *Hieroglyphic Texts*, part 1, pll. 49–52.

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7. [35365]
USHABTI OF
ÀMENḤETEP II
KING OF EGYPT, ABOUT B.C. 1500
INSCRIBED WITH THE 6TH CHAPTER
OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

6 [32191]
LIMESTONE USHABTI FIGURE
OF ÀĀḤMES I *[AMASIS]*,
KING OF EGYPT, ABOUT B.C. 1700,
INSCRIBED WITH A VERSION
OF THE VITH CHAPTER OF THE
BOOK OF THE DEAD.

Ushabti figures of Àāḥmes I and Àmenḥetep II.

June 3rd, 1903, that Monsieur X's conduct amounted to "une manque de surveillance qui ressemble à une complicité, permettant l'expédition clandestine en Europe d'antiquités subrepticement enlevées aux fouilles mal gardées." Mr. Insinger called the man who committed the theft, to the success of which Mr. X's "manque de surveillance" contributed, "Monsieur Y." Mr. Insinger's letter to *Le Phare* was the subject of a long article in the *Egyptian Gazette* for June 5th, 1903. And the editor informed his readers that the initials "X" and "Y" in Mr. Insinger's letter "evidently" represented Mr. Carter and "Dr. Budge, the well-known Egyptologist." In the first paragraph of his article, the editor of the *Egyptian Gazette* refers to "the ravishment of the tomb of Ȧmen-ḥetep II," and in the second he attempts to defend Mr. Carter, and trusts that "Lord Cromer will take the matter up, and call upon our contemporary for a written apology for such an unwarranted aspersion."

Before referring to the third paragraph, which the editor devotes chiefly to my alleged "theft," it may be well to mention a few facts concerning the "ravishment of the tomb of Ȧmen-ḥetep II," which most people will have forgotten. This tomb was cleared out by M. Loret in 1899, and in it were found not only the mummy of the king and the bodies of some of his ladies who were killed, voluntarily or otherwise, and buried with him in his tomb, but the mummies of several other kings, viz. those of Thothmes IV, Ȧmen-ḥetep III, Menephthah, Rameses IV, Rəmeses V and Rameses VI. M. Loret removed all the contents of the tomb to Cairo, and it was generally felt that he had committed an error of judgment when he disturbed the mummy of Ȧmen-ḥetep II, and the bodies of his ladies. After M. Loret's resignation, Sir William Garstin insisted that Maspero should replace the mummy of Ȧmen-ḥetep II and the bodies of his ladies in the royal tomb, together with most of the funerary equipment. When this had been done, Sir William Garstin, Maspero, and several high officials, both British and Egyptian, visited the tomb to see that everything had been done as they

wished. The party proceeded from chamber to chamber, and when at length they reached the portion of the tomb where the sarcophagus stood, they saw the mummy of the king lying there with his diorite *shabti* figure and bronze *menȧts* resting upon it in their proper places. Then, according to the story which was told me by one of the party, the British officials examined other parts of the tomb, and listened to the learned remarks of Maspero, who explained the ceremonies which were performed in the chambers on behalf of the dead. When the party reached the door, the chief watchman came up behind in a state of great excitement, and reported that the *shabti* figure and the bronze *menȧts* (which had been lying on the mummy half an hour before, and which all had seen) had disappeared. Search was made for them diligently and quickly, but they were not forthcoming, and the only conclusion which it seemed possible to arrive at was that one of the inspecting party had stolen them.[1]

From the tomb Maspero and his party went to the place where the natives had dragged the great boat which had been prepared for the use of Ȧmen-ḥetep II in the Other World and had been taken from the great hall of his tomb. The boat was about 20 feet long, and about 6 feet or 7 feet wide in its widest part, and it was flat-bottomed and capable of carrying a good many men. It was made of huge thick planks bolted together with strong pegs, and it was in such a good state of preservation that it looked as if it might have been made in our own days. Near the boat a large tent had been erected for the use of the party, and in the evening all the high officials dined there with Maspero, and the police, watchmen and servants lighted fires near by, and ate their supper whilst the party from Cairo were dining. Late in the evening the conversation in the

[1] A year or two later a European dealer in Cairo offered me the *shabti* figure, and I bought it, and it now bears the number 35,365 in the British Museum Collection. See *Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms*, p. 130. I bought one of the king's *menȧts* before M. Loret cleared the tomb. See *Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 30 (No. 20,760).

To face p. 366, vol. ii (see p. 363).



Sepulchral stele of Sebek-āa, an overseer of transport. XIth dynasty.
Brit. Mus., No. 1372.

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tent returned to the boat, and all the members of the party left the tent to look at it before they returned to Luxor. When they came to the place where they had seen the boat in the afternoon there was no boat visible, and from that day to this the authorities have never been able to find out what became of it. The truth of the matter is that whilst the officials were dining, and their attendants and the police were having supper, a gang of strong men came from the neighbourhood, and took the boat to pieces and carried off the planks and hid them until the official searchers had finished their work and departed. The watchmen who were paid by the Service of Antiquities probably knew well who the thieves were, but if they did they made no sign. One thing is quite certain: all the people in the neighbourhood were interested in the success of the theft of the boat, or it could never have been committed. The fact that a boat 20 feet long could be taken to pieces and carried away whilst the Director and several of his principal officials were eating their dinner a few hundred feet distant, did not increase the respect of the natives for the Service of Antiquities.

But to return to the *Egyptian Gazette* and its editor's remarks concerning myself. In the third paragraph of his article he wrote:

"With regard to Dr. Budge's alleged theft we have no doubt that Mr. Insinger is very well informed. In fact, Dr. Budge is well known as a somewhat unscrupulous collector of antiquities for his Museum . . . . and we have little doubt that Mr. Insinger would be the best authority from whom to obtain all the very fullest particulars of the way in which the stolen stele was conveyed out of this country. In view of Mr. Insinger's peculiar position in Luxor, we can also understand that an active and energetic inspector like Mr. Carter is a considerable thorn in the flesh to him, and that such accusations as are brought against the latter, are prompted by a whole-souled desire to see the last of him. . . The larger question of the preservation of Egypt's antiquities is, and has been for years past, a

thorny one. We do not believe we are doing any of the well-known antiquarian authorities an injustice in saying that their visits to this country every winter are taken largely for the sake of acquiring honestly or dishonestly valuable antiquities for Museums they represent. No one nation is more favoured than another in this respect, though perhaps England and the British Museum may be more actively represented. It is well known that such men come to this country well provided with funds, and that the natives at Luxor are paid to steal or otherwise procure any coveted scientific treasure. We are afraid the Egyptian Government cannot deal effectively with such collectors as Dr. Budge and his like in any direct way, but only through making the tasks which they set the poor natives most difficult and unpleasant to carry out. The only means of dealing with Dr. Budge is to arouse scientific public opinion in England against him and his methods."

This article had no effect on the friendly relations which existed between Maspero and myself, and two years later I was able to acquire an important collection of funerary memorial statues of some of the high Egyptian officials who served the great queen Ḥatshepset and Thothmes III. Among these were two statues of Senmut, the Architect of the Temple of Dêr al-Baḥarî. We, that is, M. Legrain and myself, found them grouped round a fine, soft crystalline limestone statue of Ḥatshepset, in a brick-lined underground chapel or chamber which lay close to the main walls of the Temple of Karnak. Want of funds on my part delayed the excavation of the chamber for two winters, and when during the third winter we actually got to work, we found that the statue of the queen, and the altar before her, had cracked and fallen to pieces, and had become a heap of white, pebbly dust. Maspero thought that this was due to the admission of air into the chamber, and told me that he had seen in some maṣṭabah tombs stelæ made of the same kind of stone, and that they invariably collapsed soon after the tombs were opened. The loss of the statue of the queen in this way was very

To face p. 368, *vol. ii.*



Statue of Senmut, architect of the Temple of Dêr al-Baḥarî, called "Tcheser-Tcheseru," the modern Dêr al-Baḥarî, built in Western Thebes by Queen Ḥatshepset. About 1500 B.C.

Brit. Mus., No. 174.



Statue of Men-kheper-Rā-senb, a Chancellor and priest of the Second Order in the reign of Thothmes III, about B.C. 1500.
Brit. Mus., No. 708.

disappointing, but I secured all the other statues, and they are now in the British Museum.[1]

In yet another way Maspero rendered me great assistance. My publication of the complete text of the Coptic version of the Psalter in the dialect of Upper Egypt from a papyrus codex helped to increase the demand for Coptic manuscripts and antiquities, and the natives began to seek out and excavate the ruins of Coptic monasteries and churches all over the country. I had paid several visits to Edfû[2] from Aswân in 1886, 1887 and 1888, and had seen several Coptic tombs cleared out, and from what I saw there and from what I read I became convinced that a very large Christian community must have flourished there between the fourth and the eleventh centuries. It was evident that this community maintained churches and monasteries, and that the priests and monks who lived at Edfû must have possessed manuscripts containing Biblical and Patristic texts. Between 1887 and 1900 the "finds" of Egyptian antiquities, both predynastic and dynastic, were so numerous and important that I could not induce the natives to turn their attention to Edfû until the winter of 1902–3. Then we dug up several memorial inscriptions and important architectural fragments, and as Maspero made no claim to any of them I secured them all. In 1907 the natives cleared out several ancient Coptic sites on behalf of the Service of Antiquities, and Maspero decided to form a collection of Coptic remains in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The Coptic monuments in the British Museum were at that time few and comparatively unimportant, and I therefore arranged with Maspero to purchase from the natives all the funerary stelæ and memorial tablets which he did not require, and thus I acquired a good typical collection of these classes of Coptic antiquities at very reasonable prices. In 1907, 1911 and 1913 I obtained some interesting specimens of wood work from one Coptic church,

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[1] Two are published in *Hieroglyphic Texts*, part v, pl. 32.

[2] The ⲁⲧⲃⲱ of Coptic writers.

two large wooden figures from the screen of another, and a censer, bells and other objects which were used during the administration of the Sacrament. The Coptic collection in the British Museum is now the largest and finest in Europe, and it overfills a room at the east end of the Second Northern Gallery.

Those who have read Wright's preface to his *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1872, will remember the story of how the monks of St. Macarius and the other monasteries in the Nitrian Desert tricked Tattam and Pacho, and thus managed to keep possession of several of the MSS. which they had sold to these collectors. In 1906 I had the good fortune to search out and acquire a volume which had formed part of the library of the famous monastery of St. Mary Deipara, which stood in the Nitrian Desert to the west of Cairo. Wright told me in 1888 that he had heard that four fine volumes from the monasteries in the Nitrian Desert had been seen recently in Egypt, and he begged me to make inquiries and to try to get them. According to rumour one volume was large and contained the Greek version of the Bible—in short, a second "Codex Alexandrinus"; another volume, also large, contained commentaries on the Old Testament, also in Greek; the third volume contained the Old Testament in the Pĕshîṭtâ Version, and the fourth a series of miscellaneous works in Syriac. For several years I inquired about these manuscripts everywhere, but no one seemed ever to have heard of them. In 1905 I met in one of the small towns in the Western Delta a Coptic priest who remembered Pacho, and who gave me the name of the man who had acted as a broker for him with the monks of the Monasteries of Macarius, Baramûs and Bschai, when he bought manuscripts from them for Tattam. I spent several days and nights in trains and canal boats going to various parts of the Delta in search of this man, and when I at length found his village it was only to learn that he was dead. But I saw one of his kinsmen, who took me to a friend of his father's, who used to send manuscripts from the monks



Gravestone of Plêïnôs, an Anagnostês, in a Coptic church or monastery in Upper Egypt.

Brit. Mus., No. 1145.

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in the Nitrian Desert to Pacho in Paris. This man told me that the Greek Bible on vellum did exist, and that his dead friend had buried it somewhere under his house shortly before his death, because he was afraid of getting into trouble with the Service of Antiquities should they find it in his possession. He professed not to know what had become of the two volumes containing the Greek commentaries and the Pĕshîṭtâ Version of the Old Testament, but I heard subsequently that he had sold them to the Monastery of Jabal Ḳatarînâ on Sinai. The fourth volume, he said, he still had, and after much delay he produced it. As soon as I saw the volume I recognized at once the characteristic binding, and, having turned over the folios, I felt certain that the manuscript was written in the Nitrian Desert in the seventh or eighth century. After much talk and coffee-drinking I tock possession of it, and it is now in the British Museum.[1]

In 1907 the dealers in Upper Egypt formed themselves into a company, and under an arrangement with Maspero they continued the excavations which I began in 1903, and discovered many good Coptic inscriptions. Best of all, they succeeded in finding the place in the neighbouring hills where the monks of Edfû and Asnâ had hidden their manuscripts, probably when the Arabs under Al-Yâzûrî ravaged Upper Egypt between 1153 and 1158. Here they discovered a large number of manuscripts written in the Coptic dialect of Upper Egypt and one small manuscript written in Nubian. Some of the company of dealers sold the MSS. which were their shares of the "find" to a gentleman who resold them to the British Museum, and I acquired the remaining thirteen volumes in 1907–8. Among the Apocryphal works contained in these volumes may be mentioned the "Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ" by Saint Bartholomew, the Apocalypse of St. Paul, and

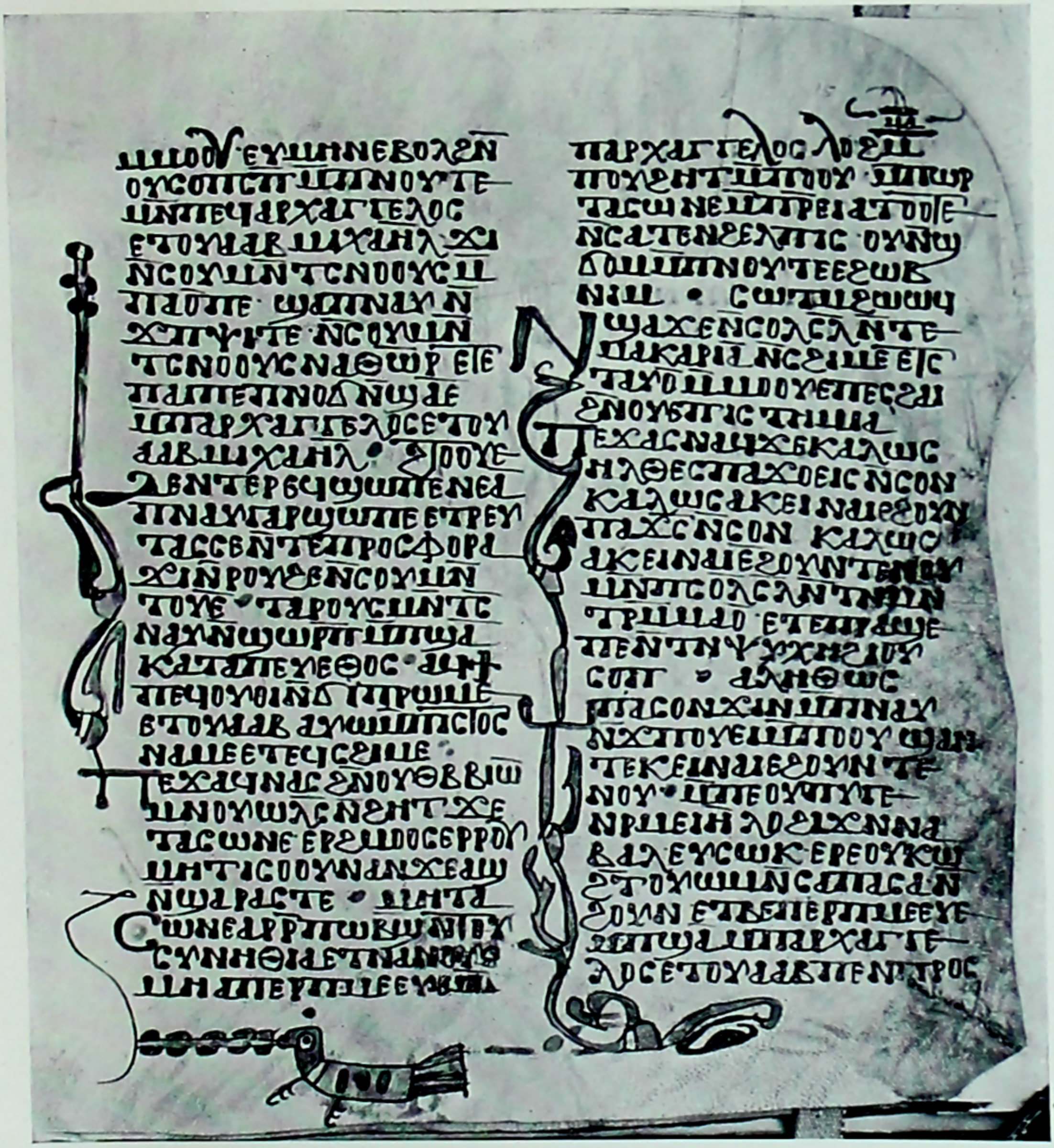
[1] Oriental No. 6714. Its contents are: (1) The Book of Gifts, by Mâr Shûbhkhâ lĕ-Mârân; (2) A Homily on the Ascetic Life, by Abraham of Nephtar; (3) A Story of Christian Persecution by Bar Khadh-bĕ-shabbâ; (4) A Homily of Theodore of Mopsuestia against the Disciples of Macedonius.

the Apocalypse of St John the Divine. The other texts comprise the hitherto unknown "History of the Monks of the Egyptian Desert" by Paphnutius, Martyrdoms, Encomia, Discourses on Angels and Archangels and on the Ascetic Life, and on Monks and Ascetics, etc. The value of the collection is greatly enhanced by the fact that all the important volumes are double-dated, *i.e.*, according to the Era of the Martyrs and the "Era of the Saracens," or the Hijrah, and they are invaluable in assisting palæographers to assign dates to undated Coptic MSS. on vellum and paper. The Trustees decided to make this unique series of texts available for students as soon as possible, and they instructed me to edit and translate them.[1]

Whilst copying these manuscripts for publication I obtained evidence which convinced me that several of them must have been copied from papyrus originals, and I determined to find some of these if possible. In 1909 and again in 1911 I revisited the sites from which I obtained the papyrus Psalter and the other Biblical texts, and urged the natives to search for more unopened graves in ancient Coptic cemeteries, and to try and find me more texts. In January, 1911, one of them discovered near Ashmûnên a group of tombs which had escaped his notice in former years. When he and his friend cleared them out they found many bodies wrapped in coarse yellow linen cloth, and several very ancient iron Coptic crosses, which seemed to have been attached to them. At one end of the group of graves they opened a two-chambered tomb, part of which had been hewn in the lower slope of the hill. In the larger chamber they found several mummies of the Roman Period and a long rectangular wooden coffin, the sides of which were decorated with paintings of serpents and figures of gods in the style of the second or third century A.D. In this coffin was the body of a man wrapped in coarse Akhmîm

[1] The texts and translations fill three volumes, viz., *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1913; *Coptic Martyrdoms*, London, 1914; and *Miscellaneous Texts* (double volume), London, 1915. These three volumes contain thirty-four complete works.

To face p. 372, *vol. ii.*



Page of the Coptic text with marginal decorations from the Encomium on Saint Michael the Archangel, by Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria.

Brit. Mus., MS. Oriental, 6781, fol. 15A.

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linen, with an iron chain round his waist. Between his feet was a linen-covered bundle, which, when untied, was found to contain a papyrus book. When the finder of this MS. brought it to me it was still in the linen wrappings in which he discovered it. The MS., which measured about 11 inches by 6 inches, was in a very dilapidated state; all the leaves had broken away from the covers, and many of them were worm-eaten, and many of them were much rubbed at the edges and corners. The covers were formed of fragments of old papyri gummed together, and the binding consisted of a strip of thick, dark brown leather, lined with two or three layers of papyrus. The leaves were very brittle, and when turned over portions of the letters flaked off them, but without disturbing them greatly I was able to find out that the MS. contained a copy of the Coptic version of Deuteronomy, the Book of Jonah, and the Acts of the Apostles in the dialect of Upper Egypt. I therefore agreed to buy it and took possession of it.

I questioned the finder of the MS. very closely, and then went at once with him to look at the tomb and the coffin in which he had found the MS., and I was convinced that the coffin was made in the Roman Period. From what I could see in and about the tomb I assumed: (1) That the man who was in the coffin with the MS. was a Christian, and probably a "solitary" or anchorite of especial holiness; (2) that the MS. found between his feet was his own property; (3) that he had copied it with his own hands, and valued it highly, and always had it with him or near him during his lifetime; (4) that he had been buried by his disciples, who either found the coffin empty—which was most probably the case—or had turned out its occupant to make room for their master; (5) that the man with whom the MS. was buried lived either towards the end of the fourth or early in the fifth century of our Era at the latest. I arrived at the last conclusion after a careful examination of the mummies that were in the tomb, for all of them certainly belonged to the period when the coffin was made, and this period was the second or third century;

and this Christian could not have been buried there for some considerable period after that. I was able to see enough of the Coptic text of the MS. to satisfy me that the writing and style of page were different from anything of the kind I had ever seen before, and I therefore took careful note of everything in the tomb which might help me to date the MS.

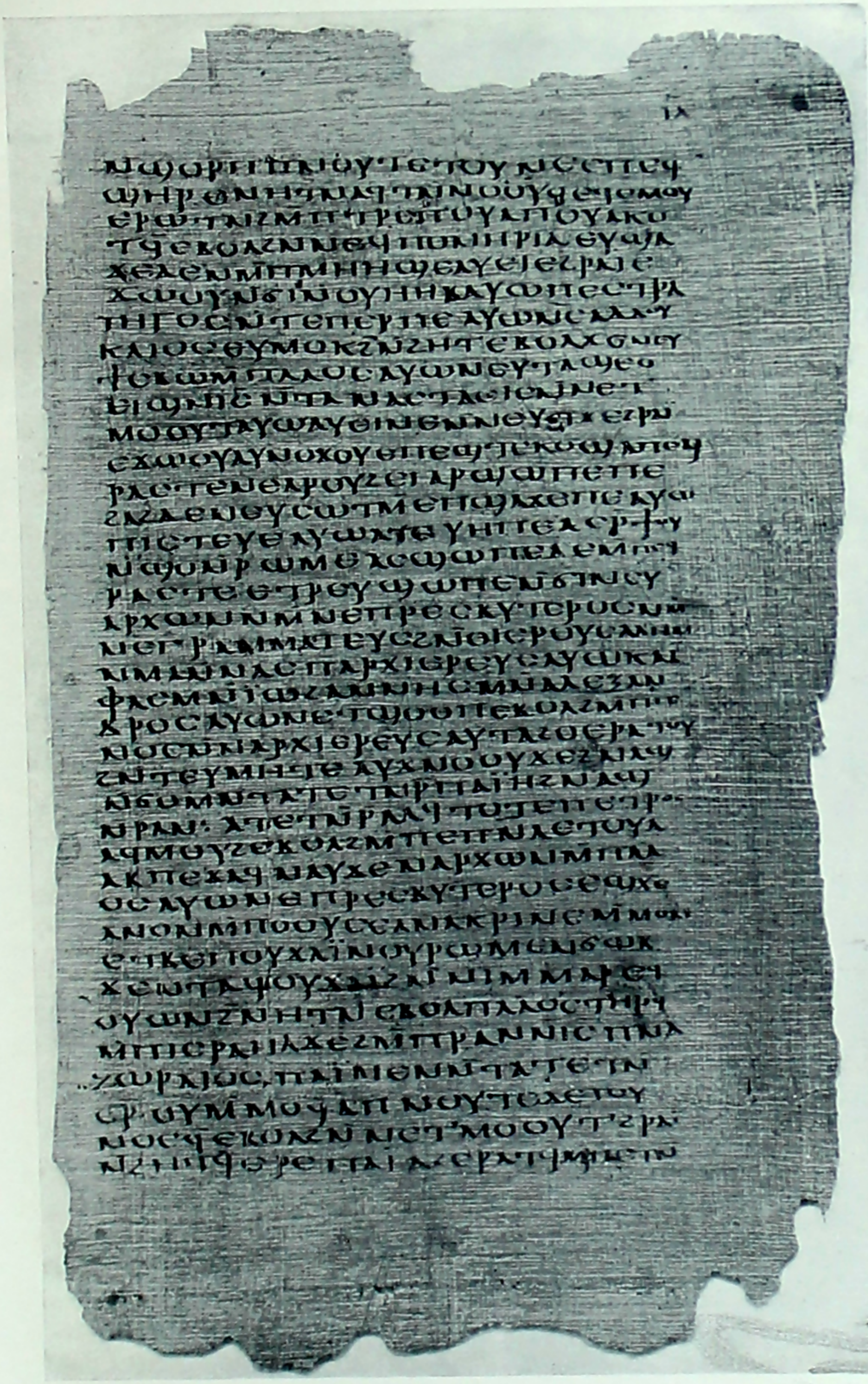
In March, 1911, I handed the MS.[1] over to Sir F. G. Kenyon, who submitted it to a careful examination palæographically, and found great difficulty in assigning an exact date to it; but he decided that it was older than any other Coptic document available for comparison. There the matter stood until the MS. was taken to pieces and each leaf mounted between two sheets of glass. On foll. 108B and 109A there was a short composition written in Coptic, but in a cursive Greek hand, and this Sir F. G. Kenyon was able to date with practical certainty. He compared the writing with that of a large number of dated Greek papyri, and decided that it was written about the middle of the fourth century. He says: "This gives a *terminus ante quem* for the Bible text, which otherwise one would hardly have ventured to place so early. Since the character of the mistakes in this Codex (see pp. xviii ff., xxxi ff.)[2] is such as to preclude the possibility of its being an original translation, it is fair to argue that the version [Sahidic] itself must, in all probability, have come into existence before the end of the third century; while it may, of course, be yet older. Our MS. therefore tends to support the earlier rather than the later of the dates that have been assigned to the origin of the vernacular Bible in Egypt."

Now, if this composition on foll. 108B and 109A was written about the middle of the fourth century, it follows that the MS. itself must have been written at an earlier period. Hence it is now certain that copies of some of the Books of the Old and New Testaments, written in

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[1] Now Brit. Mus. Orient. No. 6803.

[2] The references are to the pages of the Introduction to my edition of the Coptic texts in the Codex; see *Coptic Biblical Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1912.



A page from the Coptic Acts of the Apostles in the dialect of Upper Egypt.
(Acts iii, 26—iv, 10.)
Brit. Mus., Papyrus Oriental, No. 7594, fol. 63A.

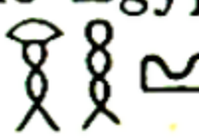
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Coptic, were in circulation among the Egyptian Christians early in the first half of this century; and it is legitimate to conclude that the origin of the version itself cannot be placed later than the third century. The MS. is, in fact, the oldest known copy of any translation of any considerable portion of the Greek Bible; indeed, it is probably as early as any copy now in existence of any substantial part of the Bible.

During the winter of 1908–9 I learned that the Corporation of Western Egypt, Limited, had completed the Western Oases Railway (2 ft. 6 in. gauge), and that it was possible to travel from the Nile to the Oasis[1] of Khârgah, or the "Great Oasis"[2] (the largest and most

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[1] The Egyptian word for "oasis" is Uaḥ  , or for the oasis region  ; Coptic ⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ, Arab., *waḥ* واح. Our own form of the word comes from the Greek transcription Ὄασις.

[2] The Egyptians called it the "Southern Oasis" to distinguish it from the "Northern Oasis," which is now also called by the Arabs "Baḥarîyah," *i.e.*, "Northern"; Khârgah is the "Outside" Oasis, as opposed to "Dâkhlah," the "Inside" Oasis. Khârgah and all the other Oases were subject to the Egyptians from time immemorial, and paid tribute to the Pharaohs. Khârgah was always a very important station on the great desert road which ran from Dâr-Fûr to the Nile, and is known to the Arabs as "Darb al-Arba'în," *i.e.*, the "road of forty [days]," and is about 1,000 miles long. The most important ruin at Khârgah is the temple built by Darius I (B.C. 521–485) in honour of Åmen-Rā; it was enlarged by Darius II and restored by Nekhtnebef (B.C. 378–360). It is the only Persian temple in Egypt. It is 150 feet long by 60 wide, and it and its three pylons stand in an enclosure 500 feet long. It was the chief temple in the northern half of the Oasis, as the temple of Dûsh (Egyptian Kus, the classical Kysis) was the chief sanctuary in the southern half. In the first centuries of our Era Khârgah contained a very large Christian population, and an ancient Abyssinian tradition asserts that Bartholomew the Apostle preached the Gospel here. It was used as a place of banishment for Christians and other offenders against the laws of the Romans in Egypt. Sentence of banishment was passed on Nestorius, but it is said that whilst he was being conveyed across that awful stony plateau to Khârgah, he was rescued by the Blemmyes, or northern Nubians, who carried him back to Egypt, where he soon after died. The Muslims occupied the Oasis about A.D. 640, but they do not seem to have considered it a place of importance, and they did nothing to maintain or increase its prosperity.

interesting of all the Oases in Egyptian territory), in eight or nine hours. In April, 1909, accompanied by Ḥajji Muḥammad, a son of Al-Ḥajj Muḥammad Muḥassib Bey of Luxor, I set out to visit Khârgah. We left the main line train at the new station of Muwaṣlat al-Khârgah (Khârgah Junction) and proceeded to Al-Kar'ah, which stands on the edge of the western desert. We passed the night in a small, very clean house, the property of the Corporation. We left Al-Kar'ah at an early hour, and ascended the Wâdî Samhûd, which runs in a south-westerly direction, and so reached the rocky plateau which divides the Oasis from the Nile. At Tundûbah, fifty-seven miles from Khârgah Junction, we saw a deep shaft, which was probably at one time a well. The line then traversed a bare, stony region, which presented a scene of indescribable desolation, and in due course we came to Rafûf, about twenty-five miles from Khârgah Oasis. Here we began the descent into the great depression in which the Oasis is situated, and on the way down we passed through scenery of a very wild and picturesque character. We crossed the plain at the foot of the pass and came to Maḥarîk, and then we proceeded to the headquarters of the Corporation at Makanât (*i.e.*, the place of the machines), and the line came to an end a few miles further on at a place quite close to the Temple of Darius, about 125 miles from the Nile. The village of Khârgah lies about six miles further to the south. We passed the night in one of the wooden houses which the Corporation had built for the use of travellers (near the Temple of Darius) and appreciated the forethought which had also provided a kitchen and a mess room.

The following day (Palm Sunday) we rode to the modern town of Khârgah, and the "Omdah," Shêkh Muṣṭafâ Hanâdî, received us into his house and showed us great kindness. I, of course, led the conversation as soon as possible to the subject of antiquities, and he told me that "gawrân," or scarabs, were sometimes found among the ruins of the Temple of Darius and in the rubbish lying round about the small Romano-Egyptian temples. He promised to make inquiries

among his people, and as a result of these I obtained the wooden coffin which is mentioned elsewhere (p. 380). The "Omdah" was a very strenuous administrator, and he insisted on summoning his secretary (a Copt, the only Christian in the Oasis), who told me a great deal about Khârgah and its people. This Copt was a very interesting man, and knew a great deal of the ancient history of the district. The laws of Khârgah were, he said, "the laws of the ancestors," and if a man could quote as a precedent some act of the "grandfather of his father," he always won his case. The ceremony of marriage is very simple: the man says to the woman, "I have taken thee," in the presence of a witness, and the marriage is legal in every respect. Curiously enough, the Muslims in the Oasis baptize their children—that is to say, the child, on the second day after birth, is laid, with much ceremony, in a large flat vessel (*tisht*), and water is poured over it by the parents in the presence of the family. The burial ceremony is most simple, and wholly different from the funerary customs which I have seen Muslims observe in Egypt and the Sûdân, Syria and Mesopotamia generally. The greatest festival of the year[1] is celebrated on the day which corresponds to our Easter Sunday, whenever that may happen to fall. The population of Khârgah and the smaller towns of Bûlâḳ, Bêris and Gennâḥ was in 1909 about 8,356 souls.

When the Copt had exhausted the store of information which he had to give me, the "Omdah" most kindly offered to escort me through some of the gardens and the town. As we passed through the very narrow streets I saw the natives decorating the walls of their houses and the tops of the walls of their gardens with branches of small trees, palm leaves, etc., and I learned from my guides that they always did this on the Sunday preceding Easter Sunday. This custom is clearly of Christian origin and has been observed in the Oasis from time immemorial. When we reached the bazâr I saw several

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[1] It is called in Arabic "Shamm an-Nasîm," شمّ النسيم, *i.e.*, "Sniffing the zephyr."

natives dipping eggs into a solution of permanganate of potash—in other words, preparing coloured eggs for consumption on the following Sunday, which was Easter Sunday. The mosque was built of stones taken from the ancient Egyptian temples and Coptic churches in the Oasis, and the oldest part of it seemed to me to date from the eleventh or twelfth century. From the bazâr our guides took us to the famous underground dwellings and conducted us through several of them. They are hewn out of the living rock, and consist of large chambers, small passages, long corridors, etc., and are very old. When the natives were threatened with attack by the nomads they used to drive their flocks and herds into this place of refuge, and having betaken themselves there with their wives and children, they walled up the entrances from the inside, and waited for their enemies to depart. We walked through many very beautiful gardens, and then went and looked at one or two of the largest wells, from which an abundant supply of sweet, very warm water was obtained. The Copt told me that there were more than 200 such wells in the Oasis, and that they yielded 12,000,000 gallons of water daily.

Having taken leave of our guides, we returned to our house and devoted the rest of our time in the Oasis to sight-seeing, for there was no business to be done. In the Temple of Darius I collated the text of the famous Hymn to Åmen-Rā with Brugsch's copy published in his *Reise*, and the inscriptions in the so-called "enigmatic writing," and was able to make out the forms of some signs which had been badly drawn by his lithographer. The group of figures of the gods in one of the small sanctuary chambers is of great interest, and some of their forms appear to be of non-Egyptian origin. We next went to visit the ruins of the Temple of Nadûrah, which was probably built by Antoninus Pius about A.D. 140, and made our way northwards to the famous Christian cemetery, where Messrs. Lythgoe and Winlock were carrying on excavations on behalf of Mr. Pierpont Morgan. The natives call the cemetery "Al-Baguat,"

and it contains about 200 tombs, which are built of crude brick and are arranged in regular order, like houses in a street. The largest are 20 feet long and 15 feet wide. Many have domes and pillared doorways, and inside most of them have arches with recesses. The domes and walls are decorated with painted figures of Christian saints and scenes illustrating events described in the Old Testament, and in many tombs we see the Egyptian symbol of "life," ☥, which the early Christians identified with the Cross. These tombs prove that in the early centuries of our era a large and wealthy Christian community lived in Hibis (Egyptian HEB), the capital of the Oasis. Everywhere the inhabitants of Khârgah treated us with courtesy and civility, and they seemed to be of a gentle disposition. They are smaller than the Egyptians and lighter in colour. They have oval faces and large soft eyes. They move languidly, the result probably of climatic conditions, and they suffer much from ophthalmia and from malarial fever of a severe kind. Of this last scourge both Ḥajji and myself had a sharp experience. During the first two days of our visit to the Oasis we enjoyed the freshness of a strong north wind, but on the third day the wind blew from the south, and brought with it dense clouds of sand and a host of particularly vicious mosquitoes, which attacked us with great vigour. We had no nets with us, and so we suffered severely from their bites, and literally had to flee from the Oasis. Our faces resembled currant puddings, and our feet were so swollen that we could not put our shoes on. Ḥajji returned to Luxor and was ill for weeks, and I went on to Cairo and was unable to leave the house of my kind friend, General Sir John Grenfell Maxwell, for at least ten days. But I did not regret my visit to the Oasis, and I remember its wonderful scenery and the beauty of its gardens, and the splendour of its sunsets and sunrises, and the kindness of its people, with pleasure and gratitude.[1]

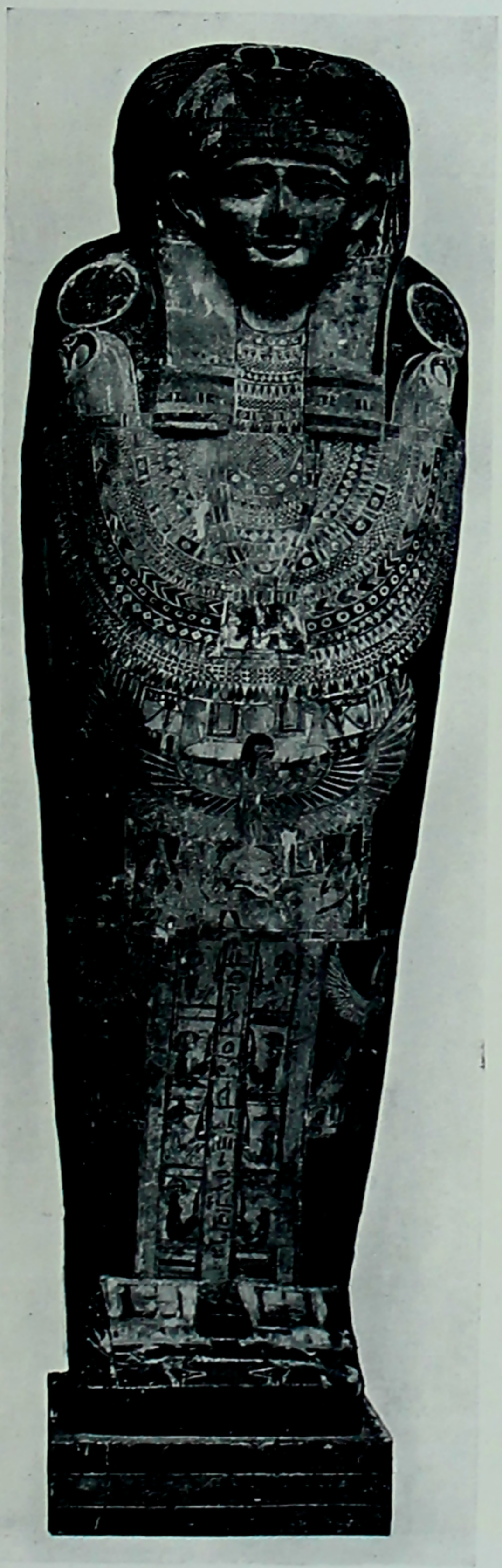
[1] I gave a tolerably full account of Khârgah and its remains in *The Nile, Notes for Travellers*, 12th edition, 1912, pp. 550–580. For descriptions of the Oasis by the older travellers see W. G. Browne,

Want of space makes it impossible for me even to mention here the less important objects which I secured for the British Museum (even though they merit special notice and a fuller account than they have received in the Annual Reports), still less to describe the difficult circumstances under which they were obtained. I therefore pass on at once to summarize briefly the additions which good fortune enabled me to make to the British Museum collection of sarcophagi and coffins, both stone and wood, and mummies. Among the stone sarcophagi may be mentioned those of Teḥuti-ḥetep (XIXth dynasty), Uaḥâbrā (XXVIth dynasty), and Qem-Ptaḥ (XXXth dynasty). The sarcophagus of the last-named is covered inside and out with texts and vignettes from the funerary composition known as Âm (or Âmi) Ṭuat. Of the sarcophagi and large coffins the most important are: (1) The rectangular wooden coffins, both inner and outer, from Al-Barshah; the insides of these are covered with texts and vignettes from the ancient Recension of the Book of the Dead which was current under the XIth and XIIth dynasties. (2) The rectangular wooden coffins of the same period from Asyûṭ and Beni Ḥasan. (3) Several brightly painted anthropoid coffins of the XIXth and XXth dynasties from Thebes. (4) The magnificent gilded coffin of the priestess-princess Ḥent-Meḥit, of the XXIst dynasty. (5) Several anthropoid wooden coffins of the XXVIth dynasty from Akhmîm. (6) The painted wooden anthropoid coffin from the Oasis of Khârgah, of the Roman Period.

It was unfortunately impossible to obtain all the mummies for whom these coffins were made, for the natives always have looked upon mummies as their own peculiar perquisite; and they have always broken

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Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria, London, 1799; Cailliaud, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes, etc.*, Paris, 2 vols., 1822–1824; Edmonstone, *A Journey to Two of the Oases of Upper Egypt in the Year* 1819, London, 1822; Hoskins, *A Visit to the Great Oasis*, London, 1837; Rohlfs, *Afrika Reise*, Berlin, 1869; Brugsch, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase*, Leipzig, 1878.



Painted coffin of Tche-ḥer from the Oasis of Khârgah.
Brit. Mus., No. 52949.

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them up whenever they thought that there was jewellery on the body or amulets in the wrappings and between the bandages. Nevertheless I was able to acquire several mummies which have materially lengthened the series in the British Museum and filled up several gaps in it, the oldest being the sun-dried body of the neolithic Egyptian already mentioned (p. 360), and the most modern the almost shapeless bundle of plaster and rags in its wooden coffin with a vaulted cover of the Roman Period.

APOLOGIA.

My endeavour to make the British Museum collection of mummies as representative and as complete as possible has brought upon me much criticism, and I have been called "sacrilegious," "inhuman," "brutal," "wicked" and "diabolical"; and the epithets "ghoul," and "body snatcher" have been frequently applied to me by those who do not know the fate which has always befallen mummies in Egypt. One gentleman writes to me saying, "The Egyptians took infinite pains to hide the bodies of their beloved dead, and to preserve them intact to await the resurrection, and you go and break open and rifle their tombs, and drag out their poor bodies, and bring them to England to become gazing-stocks for irreverent crowds in the British Museum. When you don't do that you do worse, for you strip the dead of their wrappings, and steal from them everything which you think worth stealing, and then you leave them naked, and they, the brutal natives, who are not much more brutal than yourself, either burn them or toss them out into the desert for the wolves and jackals to mangle. A fig for the science of Egyptology if it makes its votaries ill-treat and destroy the dead, even though they be only African pagans." Another critic, an ecclesiastic, wrote to me very angrily and told me that by exhibiting even partially unrolled mummies I showed great disrespect for the dead and that by placing the naked body of the neolithic Egyptian on a board in a case in the First Egyptian Room,

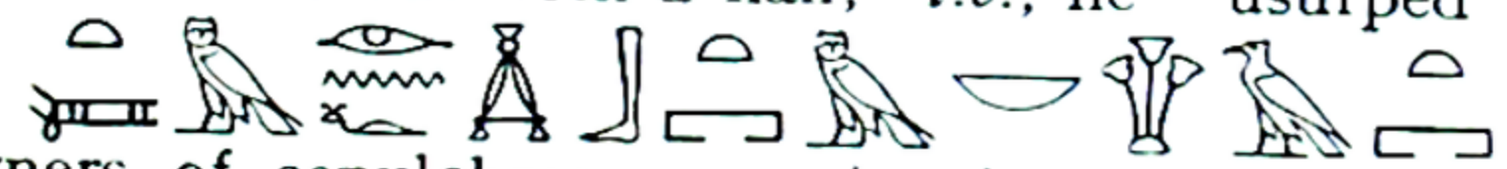
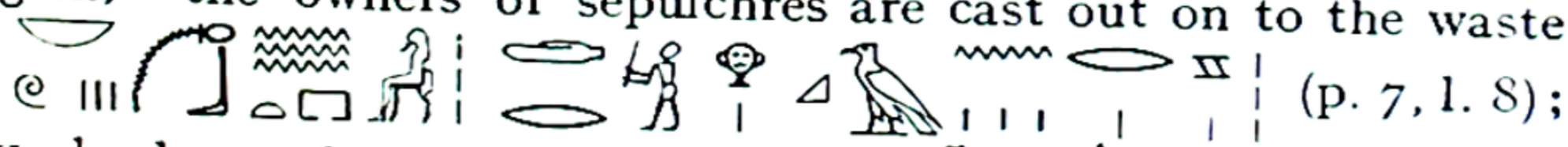
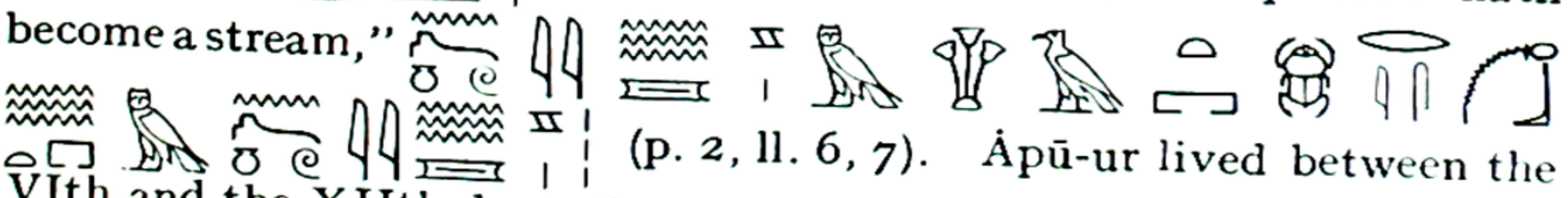
where it would be stared at by a gaping mob, I had prepared an exhibition which was at once indecent and disgusting, and degrading alike to the living and the dead. Naturally, it would be most unseemly for me to discuss the attacks of such critics (which should have been directed against the Trustees of the British Museum, and not against one of their servants), but it may be useful to describe briefly what the fate of mummies in Egypt has been during the last sixty centuries, and to show that they do not remain in their tombs and graves safe and untouched, save when the "meddling archæologist or agent of some museum drags them from their resting-places, and turns them into merchandise."

From time immemorial the Egyptians have plundered the tombs of their dead. The neolithic Egyptians stole flints, stone and earthenware jars, etc., from the shallow graves of the community, and buried them with the bodies of men who had recently died. In dynastic times, when jewels, rings, ornaments, amulets, etc., were buried with the dead, thieves broke into the tombs and stole them, and carried off the valuables that were lying in the coffins or near them; and they even broke up the mummies in order to get possession of the jewellery, etc., which was hidden within the swathings. Excavators, both European and native, have found many tombs which had all the appearance of being intact, and have rejoiced, but when they have entered them their joy has been turned into anger, for they have found that the old professional tomb-robber had been there centuries before them, and that in his search for treasure he had destroyed much that was archæologically valuable. The kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties had marvellously intricate tombs hewn for them in the Theban Mountain, and spared no pains in making hiding-places for their mummies, but all in vain; for the thieves found their way into the most cunningly concealed sarcophagus chambers, and carried off the solid gold cases in which many of the bodies were shrouded, and every portable piece of funerary furniture and mummy equipment which could be sold and re-used. Whether

a king built a pyramid to cover his body, or hewed a tomb in the bowels of a mountain, the result was the same; the thief found his way into the sarcophagus chamber and robbed the dead, and broke the mummy in pieces in order to get possession of rings, pectorals, scarabs, etc. The discoveries of the royal mummies at Dêr al-Baḥarî and in the tomb of Âmen-ḥetep II prove that the ancient Egyptian Kings were unable to protect the Royal Tombs and their occupants against the tomb-robber. And the inscriptions written by the priest-kings of the XXIst dynasty on the bandages of the mummies which they repaired show that the tomb-robber was no respecter of persons.

In times of national trouble and anarchy funerals became less sumptuous, and the profession of tomb-robber was less lucrative. But the mummies suffered all the same, for many of them were dispossessed of their tombs, which were then filled with other occupants.[1] The demand for good rock-hewn tombs must always have exceeded the supply, and those who could not defend the tombs of their dead saw them filched from them, and the mummies ejected. But besides the tomb-robber mummies had many enemies, viz., water, moisture, dry rot, beetles, moths, worms, ants, etc. In tombs

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[1] Compare the passage in the Leyden Papyrus (ed. Gardiner) in which 'Âpū-ur, the Sage, in describing the terrible state of Egypt under the foreigner, says: "He who could not make for himself a coffin is [now] the owner of a tomb with a hall," *i.e.*, he "usurped" someone else's tomb  . And again, "the owners of sepulchres are cast out on to the waste land,"  (p. 7, l. 8); "many dead are buried in the river,"  ; "a stream is a tomb, a sepulchre hath become a stream,"  (p. 2, ll. 6, 7). Âpū-ur lived between the VIth and the XIIth dynasties.

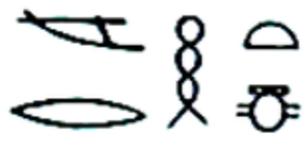
of the VIth dynasty at Ṣaḳḳârah I have seen mummy chambers half full of water, due to infiltration and leakage; and the coffins and mummies in them were reduced to a sodden mass. The mummies of the XIIth dynasty which I bought with their coffins at Asyûṭ were full of dry rot, and collapsed into masses of dust and bones when we attempted to lift them out of their coffins to pack them. All mummies, except those which were dipped in bitumen, were subject to the attacks of worms and moths. In some of the tombs of the late period at Aswân I have seen skeletons from which every bandage and every particle of flesh had been eaten by the ants; and in some of the large caverns in the hills of Western Thebes I have seen dried bodies being eaten by myriads of small beetles.

The mummies which the tomb-robber held to be of least value were those which were made after the XXVIth dynasty. These, except in rare cases, were not prepared with sweet unguents and precious oils and myrrh and spices and expensive drugs, but with bitumen. In many mummies only the skull and belly are found to be filled with bitumen,[1] but in others it is quite clear that the whole body was soaked in bitumen, which penetrated the flesh and discoloured the bones. A body which had been so treated became a black, hard, heavy and shapeless mass, and very difficult to break up. It is clear that few would deck their dead with jewellery and costly amulets when it was decided that they were to be steeped in bitumen, and as the tomb-robber discovered this fact very soon, he left bitumenized bodies severely alone. But this treatment with bitumen did not preserve mummies from wreckage and annihilation. On the contrary, it became the direct cause of the destruction of tens of thousands of them, for the bitumen taken from them yielded far larger profit to the tomb-breaker than the jewellery and amulets which decorated the mummies made with unguents and myrrh. The reason of this is not far to seek: bitumen was used

[1] This fact was known to ʿAbd al-Laṭîf (ed. de Sacy, p. 200) in the twelfth century.

in medicine, and as that variety which is found in mummies was believed to be of the very best quality, mummies containing bitumen were eagerly sought for, and when found they were dragged out of the tombs and broken up, and both the bitumen and the bitumenized flesh were sold to the physicians for use in medicine. The Egyptians were well acquainted with the preservative qualities of bitumen, tar and pitch, and it is possible that they used all three in medicine,[1] as did the Greeks, Romans, Syrians,[2] Arabs and Persians. According to Dioscorides,[3] who flourished at the end of the first century, A.D., the πισσάσφαλτος, or asphaltus or bitumen, mixed with pitch, used in medicine in his day came from Phœnicia, Babylon and the islands of Zante and Sicily, but he does not mention its use in mummification. Paulus Aegineta (seventh century) describes the curative properties of Ἄσφαλτος or bitumen, but says nothing as to its use in mummification. He speaks of it as "Jews' pitch" (*bitumen Judaicum*) because it was collected from the surface of the waters of Lacus Asphaltites,[4] or the Dead Sea. Among Arab writers on Materia Medica πισσάσφαλτος, or picibitumen is called "Mumie," or "Mumiay" or "Mumia,"[5] all of which are merely forms of the Persian word *mûmiyâ* مُومِيَا the substance

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[1] In the Ebers Papyrus *merḥt*  (Coptic ⲙⲉⲣϩⲓ) or oil of bitumen is frequently mentioned.

[2] See the prescriptions given in my *Syrian Anatomy*, vol. ii, Oxford, 1913, pp. 58, 164, 361, 507, 664, 678, 719, and the list of medicines on pp. 719, 721.

[3] See Pedacius Dioscorides Anazarbeus: *De Medica Materia*, Lib. I cap. 99, ed. C. Sprengel in Kûhn, *Medicorum Graecorum Opera*, tomm. xxv and xxvi, Leipzig, 1829. See also Wellmann, *Pedanii Dioscuridis*, vol. i, p. 72, Berlin, 1907.

[4] See F. Adams, *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, London, 1847, vol. iii, p. 60.

[5] See Ibn Bêṭâr (*i.e.*, Muḥammad 'Abd Allâh bin Aḥmad al-Mâliḳî), translated by J. von Sontheimer, Stuttgart, 1840, vol. ii, p. 537 (Article *m mîâ*); Avicenna (*i.e.*, Ḥusên bin 'Abd Allâh ibn Sînâ), vol. ii, 2, 114; and Serapion, *De Simplicium Medicamentorum*, lib. iv, fol. 101*b* (De Pissasphalto). The last named quotes several authorities who belaud the virtues of bitumen.

used by the Persians in embalming the dead. Originally this substance must have been wax or contained wax (Pers. *mûm* موم), but later the Persians gave the name *mûmiyâ* to the bitumen which flowed down the sides of the famous "Mummy Mountain."[1] The Arabs adopted the word, and 'Abd al-Laṭîf (ed. de Sacy, p. 201) applied it to: (1) a medicament made of pitch, tar, cedar oil and pine oil; (2) the bitumen of Judea; (3) the bitumen found in tombs (called "al-ḳabûrî" or "tomb-bitumen"; and (4) the bitumen of Yaman and Southern Arabia. The Arabs called the dead body which had been preserved with bitumen or picibitumen "mûmîyah," مُومِيَّة, but our word "mummy" is derived from the Persian *mûmiyy* مُومِيّ, *i.e.*, that which has been treated with wax, or resembles wax (Dozy, *Suppl.* II, page 624), and not from mûmiyâ, the name of the substance used in embalming the dead.

As long as mummification was practised in Egypt the physician had no difficulty in obtaining supplies of bitumen or *mûmîâ* from the merchants, who brought it from Hît on the Euphrates, and the Dead Sea, and no doubt, found the trade very profitable. But when mummification ceased to be general the trade in bitumen between Hît and the Dead Sea and Egypt declined, and the physicians were driven to seek another source of supply. This they found in the mummies which I have already described, and for several centuries the bitumen which was used as a drug in Egypt was obtained from Ancient Egyptian tombs. At first only the masses of bitumen from the skulls and bodies of the dead were used by the physician, but when these became scarce the bitumenized flesh of the dead was pounded up and became a common element in medicines. At length this source of supply began to fail also, and then unscrupulous persons in Alexandria obtained possession of the bodies of criminals, and of those who had died of

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[1] See Ouseley, *Travels*, ii, p. 171 ff.

loathsome diseases, and these they prepared and in due course sold as genuine *mûmîâ*. The proof for this statement is found in the very interesting "Discourse" on mummy and the unicorn, by Ambrose Paré (born 1517, died 1590), who sets down in writing the facts which he obtained from Gui de la Fontaine, the celebrated physician of the King of Navarre.[1]

[1] See *Discours d'Ambroise Paré*, Paris, 1582, pp. 7 and 8: "Depuis nagueres devisant avec Gui de la Fontaine, Medecin celebre du Roy de Navarre, sachant qu'il avoit voyagé en Egypte et en la Barbarie, ie le priay me faire participant de ce qu'il avoit apprins de la Licorne, et de la Mumie: Il me dist que c'estoient toutes bayes ce qu'on bruyoit par deçà de la Licorne, et que jamais n'en avoit rien sceu descouvrir. Et quant à la Mumie, qu'estát l'an mil cinq cens soixante quatre en la ville d'Alexandrie d'Egypte, il ouyt dire qu'il y avoit un Juif, qui en faisoit grand trafic: En la maison duquel allant, le supplia de luy vouloir monstrer les corps mumiez. Ce qu'il feist volontiers, et luy ouvrit un magazin, où il y avoit plusieurs corps entassez les uns sur les autres. Iceluy priant derechef le Juif de luy vouloir dire où il avait recouvré ces corps, et s'ils se trouvoient comme en avoient escrit les anciens, és sepulcres du pays; ledict Juif en se mocquant de cette imposture, se print à rire, l'asseurant, et affermant qu'il n'y avoit point quatre ans, que tous les dicts corps qu'il voyoit là (en nombre de trente ou quarante) il les preparoit luy mesme, et que c'estoient corps d'esclaves, ou autres personnes. Ledit de la Fontaine luy demandant encore, de quelle nation, et s'ils n'estoient point morts de mauvaise maladie, comme de lepre, verole, ou peste: il luy respondit, qu'il ne se soucioit point d'où ils fussent, ny de quelle mort ils estoient morts, ou s'ils estoient vieils ou jeunes, masles ou femelles, pourveu qu'il en eust, et qu'on ne les pouvoit cognoistre quand ils estoient embaumez. Encore luy dist, qu'il s'esmerveilloit grandement comme les Chrestiens estoient tant frians de manger les corps des morts. Ledit de la Fontaine l'importunant de luy declarer la façon qu'il tenoit à les embaumer, dist qu'il vuidoit le cerveau et les entrailles, et faisoit de grandes incisions au profond des muscles, et apres les remplissoit de poix indee [sic], appellee asphaltite, et prenoit des vieux linges trempez en ladite liqueur, et les posoit dans lesdites incisions; apres bandoit chacune partie separément: et estans ainsi bandez, enveloppoit tout le corps d'un drap trempé semblablement à ladite liqueur: lesquels ainsi accoustrez, les mettoit en certains lieux, où il les laissoit pour confire deux ou trois mois. Finalement ledict de la Fontaine disant, que les Chrestiens estoient donques bien trompez de croire que les corps mumiez fussent tirez des sepulcres anciens des Juifs: le Juif luy feist response, qu'il estoit impossible que l'Egypte eust peu fournir de tant de milliers de corps, qui ont esté enlevez depuis que ceste ceremonie a esté. Car de dire auiourd'huy

Another enemy of the mummies also was the European artist who painted in oils. In order to produce certain colours and effects he made use of a pigment called "mummy," which was made of the bitumen and animal and vegetable remains from Egyptian tombs. Some artists used this mixture in preference to pure asphaltum, or bitumen, both because it was less liable to crack and because it did not move on the canvas.[1]

Within the last hundred years thousands of mummies have been broken up by the native tomb-robbers in their search for scarabs and amulets, and the remains of them have been burnt or otherwise destroyed. My experience has been that the natives would not sell any mummy if they thought it likely to contain jewellery, amulets or papyri, or any object that could be sold to the tourist or collector. Every mummy they can get hold of they unroll with the hope of finding amulets, etc., in the swathings, and they search the inside of the actual body, and sometimes find there gold plaques, figures of the four Sons of Horus, fine scarabs, etc. Natives much dislike selling mummies in unopened painted cartonnage cases, for they usually contain many amulets, and sometimes the mummy is wrapped in a shroud of papyrus inscribed with many texts from the Book of the Dead. It was only with the greatest difficulty that I acquired the mummy of a priestess in its unopened cartonnage case, which is now in the British Museum.[2] On the other hand, the bitumenized mummies which were common at Akhmîm were sold to anyone who would buy them, for they were difficult to break up, and when

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qu'elle s'observe, cela est faulx : d'autant que ceste region est seulement habitee des Turcs, et des Juifs, et des Chrestiens, qui ne sont coustumiers d'user de telle ceremonie d'embaumement, comme du temps que les Roys d'Egypte y commandoient.

[1] See Field's *Chromatone* (ed. J. S. Taylor), London, 1885, p. 160; and see the articles "asphaltum" and "mummy" in Fairholt, *Dictionary of Terms in Art*, London, 1854, pp. 52 and 300. On the adulteration of "mummy" pigment see Merrifield, *Ancient Practice of Oil Painting*," vol. i, p. cxx ff.

[2] No. 20,744. See *Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms*, p. 64.

broken they yielded little of value. And the destruction of mummies is certain to go on, for the demand for scarabs and amulets will increase as time goes on and the supply diminishes. I am certain that the natives will break up every mummy they can get hold of in the hope of obtaining things to sell, and I know of no power that can prevent them.

From what has been said above it is quite clear that, from first to last—that is to say, from the late Neolithic Period down to the present time—the principal robbers of tombs and wreckers of mummies have been the Egyptians themselves. The outcry against the archæologist is foolish, and the accusations made against him are absurd. Very, very rarely does he take the mummies which he exports to his museum out of the tombs with his own hands, for nine times out of ten he buys the mummies which the natives have taken out of the tombs to suit their own purposes. If one archæologist won't buy, another will, and, if no archæologist will buy, then the owners of the mummies will break them up and burn them piecemeal. The natives will never replace them in their tombs. For one mummy that is shipped from Egypt scores are broken up, either in the tombs where they are found or in houses to which they are taken.

The Egyptian had his body mummified because he wanted to preserve it from the attacks of insects, water, moisture, rot, etc., and he wished to have it hidden in a sure hiding-place, so that his enemies among men and beasts might not find it, and tear, or rend, or mutilate it. His sole object was to preserve his body in a complete state, presumably that his "sāḥu," or "spirit-body," might, in the fullness of time, rise from it by virtue of the formulæ which the "Kher ḥeb" priest recited over it on the day when it was committed finally to the tomb. When exactly the union of the "ȧakhu," or "spirit soul," with the "spirit body" would take place was not known. But under the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties the Egyptian certainly believed that a great and general gathering of "spirit-bodies" from mummies and "spirit-souls" would take place one

day in the "Ânu of heaven," *i.e.*, the celestial Heliopolis. Believers in Osiris never regarded mummies as wholly dead objects, and among the modern Egyptians I have met both Copts and Muslims of the better classes, who treat them with respect, and regard them with a kind of fear, because they think that their souls return to them on certain occasions. The Egyptian fallâḥ scrupulously avoids the neighbourhood of tombs after sunset, for he has no wish to meet the souls of dead unbelievers, who may have lost their way and are unable to find their bodies. No Sûdânî man would stay with me among the pyramids of Jabal Barkal or Meroë after sunset, for the natives at both places were convinced that the souls of the "mulûk," or "kings," come forth from their tombs under the pyramids in the "cool of the day" to "smell the air" and to "look about a bit" and talk with each other. Maspero told me that when the Dêr al-Baḥarî mummies were first exhibited in the Bûlâḳ Museum he could not get any attendant to remain in the room alone with them in the late afternoon. He told me also that the watchmen of the "magazine" (*i.e.*, the place where unexhibited antiquities were kept) left their posts long before sunset, and that, in consequence, many valuable objects had been stolen from it by thieves who knew their habit. On the other hand, the Dêr al-Baḥarî mummies were not always regarded as objects of fear, and they were visited by many Muslim women with a very definite purpose. These women believed that if they could touch the mummified remains of any of the great kings they would gain strength from that touch to conceive and bring forth "strong sons like Pharaoh." Some of them tried to push off the loosely-fitting covers of the cases in which the mummies were kept and steal a bit of skin for themselves, and others cajoled the watchmen or bribed them to steal the coveted object for them. Those who succeeded carried off their treasure and enclosed it in a small gold or silver case, and wore it as an amulet. Maspero told me that several native ladies of high degree had begged him to obtain for them joints from the little fingers of mummies, so

that they might wear them as amulets. In such requests he saw a survival of the ancient Egyptian belief in the magical qualities which the little finger was supposed to possess, and reminded me of the mention of the little finger of King Pepi which occurs in the Pyramid Texts.

It may be noted in passing that many distinguished psychical men have visited the mummies in the British Museum for other than archæological purposes, and among these may be mentioned Mr. Douglas Murray and Mr. Stead. These gentlemen used to say that they could distinguish between the different "spirit personalities" which they alleged were present in the First Egyptian Room, and declared that they were able to hold intercourse with them, and that they obtained from them information concerning the state and manner of existence of the Egyptian souls who had passed over to the "Other Side." They were convinced that the mummies in that room were visited nightly by the souls who had lived in them on earth, and they were anxious to obtain permission to make arrangements to pass a night in the mummy rooms, so that they might converse with the souls. They proposed to invite several "first-class mediumistic persons," both ladies and gentlemen, to be present, and were certain that if they were allowed to pass a night with the mummies they would be able to clear up all the Egyptologist's difficulties about the functions and relationships of the spirit-soul, heart-soul, double, shadow, etc., and obtain from them important information concerning the spirit-world. They regarded the mummy rooms in the British Museum as ideal places for such a séance, because, as they said, the conditions under which the mummies in them existed were such as to promote "free intercourse between their bodies and their spirit-souls and heart-souls, and all the other parts of their material and spiritual entities." They wished also to communicate with the souls of the royal mummies at Cairo, but thought that the injuries which they had received through the carelessness which the Service of Antiquities had displayed in respect of the preservation of them had made it impossible.

And, whilst expressing no opinion as to the probability or possibility of the views of Mr. Douglas Murray[1]

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[1] To the good offices of Mr. Douglas Murray we owe the presentation to the British Museum of the mummy-board, or mummy-cover, No. 22,542. This valuable and interesting object is commonly described as the "haunted mummy," but this description is fundamentally wrong. It is not a mummy, but a beautifully painted wooden board, with a woman's face in relief at one end of it, and it was placed on the mummy of the priestess for whom it was made when that was laid in its coffin. The name of this priestess is unknown, for it does not appear on the board. But the cartouche containing the prenomen and nomen of Ȧmenḥetep II, which is painted above the feet, suggests that she was descended from a kinsman or kinswoman of this king, and was a priestess in the temple of Ȧmen-Rā, and was on one of the royal foundations connected with the great confraternity of Ȧmen-Rā at Thebes. The mummy of this priestess never came to the British Museum, notwithstanding all assertions to the contrary. It was broken up by the natives of Ḳurnah, and they obtained from it a very fine necklace of cornelian beads with heavy gold pendants. From enquiries which I made in 1889, soon after Mr. A. F. Wheeler presented the board to the British Museum, I learned that the mummy and its coffin and the board were obtained from the tomb of Ȧmenḥetep II, which was not cleared out by M. Loret until ten years later, by which time the natives had abstracted every portable thing of value. The board came to the British Museum with an evil reputation for bringing down calamity, disease and disaster on everyone connected with it, and in the minds of many people it has maintained this reputation ever since. Innumerable stories are told of it, or rather of the mummy that belonged to it, *e.g.*, that the mummy had actually been acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum, and was sold by them surreptitiously to an American, who shipped it in the "Titanic" and thereby caused the loss of the ship. These stories have taken such a hold on the imagination of a certain section of the public that contradiction is in vain. The following extracts from two letters addressed to me will suffice to show the sort of notions that are entertained:

1. April 3rd [1914]. "Dear Sir,—I was in the Egyptian Gallery a few weeks ago with the —— Students Ass., on a Saturday afternoon. The following Saturday in the night I was suddenly seized with internal neuralgia. I wondered if it had anything to do with the Mummy in Case 4, but as I had been intensely interested in her in a very kindly manner, it seemed to me improbable. However, a few days after, when the pain was not so intense, during the night, I felt a hand press against my side (not the one which was in pain) and in a few moments, agonizing pains, which left me as suddenly as they came. In my heart I have been loving that Egyptian Lady. The only conclusion I can come to is that she is doing all she can to effect

and Mr. Stead being correct as regards the intercourse between mummies and their souls in the British Museum, it is impossible not to think that the royal mummies in Cairo have been treated with careless disrespect by the Service of Antiquities. After Maspero unrolled them, every portion of their bodies was stripped bare by the medical experts who examined them and measured them and wrote reports on their physical characteristics for incorporation in his great work "Les Momies Royales de Dêr el-Bahari." In this state they were replaced in the shabby, thin wooden coffins, with which the priest-kings of the XXIst dynasty (who repaired the royal mummies) had provided them, and they were allowed to remain wholly unprotected in the miserable workroom of the old Museum at Bûlâḳ for a considerable time. After much delay, and then only as the result of the pressure of enlightened European public opinion in Cairo, large, cheap, light deal cases were provided for them, and they were exhibited in the Museum; these cases were glazed with the commonest glass that could be bought in the bazâr, and in a very short time many of the panes were cracked and broken. The glazed covers did not fit the cases when they were first made, and as the unseasoned wood dried and shrank they were never in position and were no protection to the mummies. In the winter of 1886–7 I saw the glass in the cases and covers coated with condensed moisture—the result of the thick white wet

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the removal of her body to her own native land. If she were kind to me as I am in my heart to her—why one would only want to keep her—but to *all* she shows some kind of cruelty, if I may say so, just because she so intensely wants her desecrated body to be sent back *home*. I have been here nearly two weeks, and only came a week after I was able to be up again."

2. "Dear Sir,—Thank you for your kind note. The mummy case I mean is in Room I, Wall-case 4, the *one* in the *middle*. A spirit *is* intimately connected with this mummy case (I presumed that a mummy was inside). Mummy or no mummy, the spirit is active, and wants its belongings removed—taken back where it came from, and it will not be satisfied until this is done. Thanking you again for your letter," etc.

mists which enshroud Cairo on winter mornings—and little pools of water on the floors of the cases. The Nile actually washed the wall of one of the main sections of the old Bûlâḳ Museum, and Maspero lived in constant dread lest the whole building should subside into its waters. When at last the Egyptian Collection was removed to the tawdry palace at Gîzah, nothing was done to protect the royal mummies, and the old cases were again used to contain them. Everyone hoped that the scandal would be removed when the Collection was housed in the new Museum in Cairo, but such was not the case, and unhappily the Royal Mummies were replaced in their ancient wooden shells in wretched cases. I inspected them carefully in 1913, and found that they were much less complete than they were when at Bûlâḳ, and that they had suffered much at the hands of those who had examined them "medically and scientifically," as Maspero said. Sir William Garstin did the right thing when he insisted that the mummy of Âmenḥetep II should be replaced in his sarcophagus in his tomb at Thebes, and there seems to be no good reason why the mummies of all the great Pharaohs of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties should not be replaced, if not in their sarcophagi, at least in suitable chambers of their tombs at Thebes.[1] The Royal Tombs are now effectively watched and guarded, and if the kings for whom they were made were replaced in them, the self-interest of the natives alone would be sufficient to keep them there uninjured and in safety.

Whatever blame may be attached to individual archæologists for removing mummies from Egypt, every unprejudiced person who knows anything of the subject must admit that when once a mummy has passed into the care of the Trustees, and is lodged in the British Museum, it has a far better chance of being preserved there than it could possibly have in any tomb, royal or otherwise, in Egypt. In the British Museum mummies

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[1] See Schweinfurth's letter advocating the provision of proper receptacles for the Royal Mummies in *The Times*, September 8th, 1886.

are placed in good adequately ventilated glass cases, and are dusted and warmed and lighted, and no moth or beetle or worm or "insect which gnaweth" can live in the atmosphere of camphylene with which they are surrounded. They are in no danger of being slowly drowned in their cases by infiltration, no sudden water-flood can overwhelm them; and the chance of their being burnt is a thousand times more remote than it was in Egypt. There is no human enemy to attack them and cut off their heads, or break up, wreck, befoul or otherwise destroy or insult them; and no wolf, jackal, dog, or hyena can come to them to drag them about and crush them with their jaws or rip them open with their claws.

In preceding paragraphs I have shown clearly enough that no tomb in Egypt, however skilfully and cunningly constructed, has protected the mummy or mummies in it against the ancient tomb-robber, and from wreckage and mutilation at his hands. But it is impossible for any mummy to be wrecked or mutilated in the British Museum, and no mummy in the National Collection has ever been unrolled whilst there, or its contents disturbed. The Trustees possess unrolled mummies and remains of mummified Egyptians, but these were presented to the British Museum in the state in which they now are. The remains of the mummified body (No. 6646) which is presumably that of King Menkaurā (Mycerinus) were given by Colonel Howard Vyse in 1838. The skeletons of Ḥeni (No. 23,425) and Khati (No. 29,574) were given by myself in 1896. The bitumenized mummy of Ānkhpakharṭ (No. 24,958), a priest of the second order at Thebes, was unrolled by Dr. Birch at Stafford House on July 15th, 1875, and was presented to the British Museum by His Grace the Duke of Sutherland in 1893. And all portions of mummies, heads, arms, hands, feet, etc., in the Collection are presentations. The Collection includes a very large number of "Canopic" jars, which at one time contained the mummified viscera of dead Egyptians, but they were empty when they were acquired by the British Museum. A few years

ago an archæologist purchased from a friend of mine at Luxor for a very large sum of money the four "Canopic" jars in blue glazed faïence which contained the viscera of Rameses II. These were taken to Paris, where, as I heard subsequently, their contents were examined by some great medical expert, who cut sections from the heart of Rameses II, and proved to an excited and enthusiastic audience that the great king had suffered from some form of heart disease which he was able to identify. Nothing of the kind has ever happened to any of the mummified remains in the British Museum.

The Egyptian prayed fervently and unceasingly against all these possible, nay probable, evils, as any one can see who takes the trouble to read the charms, spells, incantations and prayers which were written on his coffin and amulets, and in the copy of the Book of the Dead which was buried with him. In the British Museum he is placed beyond the reach of all such evils. The Egyptian also prayed that his name might germinate, *i.e.*, endure and flourish, and be remembered in perpetuity by the living, and on the funerary equipment of a person of any importance the name of the deceased is mentioned scores of times. Without a name how could he be introduced into the Judgment Hall of Osiris? Anubis and his fellow-gods would make short work of a "nameless ghost." Moreover, if his name was erased from his tomb and his mummy, how could his heart-soul, when it went to visit him, find his tomb and identify the body which it had once inhabited? In this matter also his mummy is assisted by the British Museum during its sojourn within its walls. For at the feet of each mummy there is placed a label on which are set forth the name of the deceased, and all important facts concerning him, provided that these can be obtained from the inscriptions on his mummy or coffin or any object of his funerary equipment. The inscriptions on Egyptian funerary stelæ prove that the Egyptian earnestly hoped that those among the living who "loved life and hated death" would visit the place where his mummy would lie, and read his name, and so remember him, for the man whose

name was lost or forgotten was dead for all eternity. For one person who in ancient days read the names of the dead on their tombs at Thebes, Abydos, Panopolis, Lycopolis or Memphis, a thousand read them on the labels which are attached to their mummies in the British Museum ; and the photographs, post-cards and " Guides " published by the Trustees carry them to the ends of the earth.

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